CAII SALLUSTII CRISPI

JUGURTHA

FOR USE IN SCHOOLS

[ed]

BY

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DEAN OF ELY.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The general notice of Sallust and of his works which has been given as an introduction to my edition of the "Catiline," contains a short reference to the "Jugurtha" also, and need not be here repeated. In the present revision more attention has been given to the punctuation, which had been suffered to be too profuse from the perhaps mistaken idea of assisting the young student thereby. It seems better, however, that he should be accustomed from the first to a more scientific system, which it may be hoped his teacher will study to explain to him. A good many fresh illustrations of the author's style and idioms have been introduced, and these more particularly from the poets. It is well that the reader should be led to notice the abundance of poetical phraseology in the earliest master of Latin history, and

how evidently the verse-writers of the empire, and Lucan most of all, made a study of his language. Such illustrations are also calculated to make a stronger impression on the youthful student, and to recur more readily to his recollection.

C. SALLUSTII CRISPI
JUGURTHA.

I. Falso queritur de natura sua genus humanum, quod imbecilla atque aevi brevis forte potius quam virtute regatur. Nam contra reputando neque majus aliud neque praestabilius invenies, magisque naturae industriam hominum quam vim aut tempus deesse. Sed dux atque imperator vitae mortalium animus est; qui ubi ad gloriam virtutis via grassatur, abunde pollens potensque et clarus est, neque fortunae eget; quippe quae probitatem, industriam, alias artes bonas neque dare neque eripere cuiquam potest; sin captus pravis cupidinibus ad inertiam et voluptates corporis pessum datus est, perniciosa lubidine paullisper usus, ubi per socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxere, naturae infirmitas accusatur; suam quisque culpam auctores ad negotia transferunt. Quod si hominibus bonarum rerum tanta cura esset, quanto studio aliena ac nihil profutura, multumque etiam periculosa petunt, neque regerentur magis quam regerent casus, et eo magnitudinis procederent, uti pro mortalibus gloria aeterni fierent.

II. Nam uti genus hominum compositum ex anima et corpore, ita res cunctae studiaque omnia

nostra corporis alia, alia animi naturam sequuntur. Igitur praeclara facies, magnae divitiae, ad hoc vis corporis alia hujuscemodi omnia brevi dilabuntur; at ingenii egregia facinora sicuti anima immortalia sunt. Postremo corporis et fortunae bonorum ut initium, sic finis est, omniaque orta occidunt, et aucta senescunt; animus incorruptus, aeternus, rector humani generis agit atque habet cuncta, neque ipse habetur. Quo magis pravitas eorum admiranda est, qui dediti corporis gaudiis per luxum atque ignaviam aetatem agunt; ceterum ingenium, quo neque melius neque amplius aliud in natura mortalium est, incultu atque secordia torpescere sinunt; quum praesertim tam multae variaeque sint artes animi, quibus summa claritudo paratur.

III. Verum ex his magistratus et imperia, postremo omnis cura rerum publicarum minime mihi hac tempestate cupienda videntur; quoniam neque virtuti honos datur; neque illi, quibus per fraudem is fuit, utique tuti, aut eo magis honesti sunt. Nam vi quidem regere patriam aut parentes quamquam et possis, et delicta corrigas, tamen importunum est; quum praesertim omnes rerum mutationes caedem, fugam, aliaque hostilia portendant: frustra autem niti, neque aliud se fatigando nisi odium quaerere extremae dementiae est; nisi forte quem inhonesta et perniciosa lubido tenet potentiae paucorum decus atque libertatem suam gratificari.

IV. Ceterum ex aliis negotiis quae ingenio exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum; cujus de virtute quia multi dixere, praetereundum puto, simul ne per insolentiam quis existimet memet studium meum laudando extollere.

Atque ego credo fore qui, quia decrevi procul a re publica aetatem agere, tanto tamque utili labori meo nomen inertiae imponant; certe, quibus maxima industria videtur salutare plebem et conviviis gratiam quaerere. Qui si reputaverint, et quibus ego temporibus magistratus adeptus sim, et quales viri idem adsequi nequiverint, et postea quae genera hominum in senatum pervenerint, profecto existimabunt me magis merito quam ignavia judicium animi mei mutavisse, majusque commodum ex otio meo quam ex aliorum negotiis reipublicae venturum. Nam saepe audivi Q. Maximum, P. Scipionem, praeterea civitatis nostrae praeclaros viros solitos ita dicere, "quum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi;" scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoria rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quam virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adaequaverit. At contra quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum majoribus suis contendat? etiam homines novi, qui antea per virtutem soliti erant nobilitatem antevenire, furtim et per latrocinia potius quam bonis artibus ad imperia et honores nituntur; proinde quasi praetura et consulatus atque alia omnia hujuscemodi per se ipsa clara et magnifica sint, ac non perinde habeantur, ut eorum, qui ea sustinent, virtus est. Verum ego liberius altiusque processi, dum me civitatis morum piget taedetque: nunc ad inceptum redeo.

V. Bellum scripturus sum, quod populus Romanus cum Jugurtha, rege Numidarum, gessit; pri-

mum, quia magnum et atrox, variaque victoria fuit; dein, quia tum primum superbiae nobilitatis obviam itum est; quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit, eoque vecordiae processit, uti studiis civilibus bellum atque vastitas Italiae finem faceret. Sed priusquam hujuscemodi rei initium expedio, pauca supra repetam; quo ad cognoscendum omnia illustria magis, magisque in aperto sint. Bello Punico secundo, quo dux Carthaginiensium Hannibal post magnitudinem nominis Romani Italiae opes maxime attriverat, Masinissa rex Numidarum, in amicitiam receptus a P. Scipione, cui postea Africano cognomen ex virtute fuit, multa et praeclara rei militaris facinora fecerat; ob quae victis Carthaginiensibus et capto Syphace, cujus in Africa magnum atque late imperium valuit, populus Romanus quascumque urbes et agros manu ceperat regi dono dedit. Igitur amicitia Masinissae bona atque honesta nobis permansit: imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit. Dein Micipsa, filius, regnum solus obtinuit, Mastanabale et Gulussa fratribus morbo absumtis. Is Adherbalem et Hiempsalem ex sese genuit, Jugurthamque, Mastanabalis fratris filium, quem Masinissa, quod ortus ex concubina erat, privatum dereliquerat, eodem cultu, quo liberos suos, domi habuit.

VI. Qui ubi primum adolevit, pollens viribus, decora facie, sed multo maxime ingenio validus, non se luxu, neque inertiae corrumpendum dedit; sed, uti mos gentis illius est, equitare, jaculari, cursu cum aequalibus certare, et quum omnes gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse: ad hoc pleraque tempora in venando agere, leonem atque alias feras primus aut

in primis ferire, plurimum facere, minimum ipse de se loqui. Quibus rebus Micipsa tametsi initio laetus fuerat, existimans virtutem Jugurthae regno suo gloriae fore, tamen, postquam hominem adolescentem, exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis magis magisque crescere intelligit, vehementer negotio permotus multa cum animo suo volvebat. Terrebat eum natura mortalium avida imperii et praeceps ad explendam animi cupidinem, praeterea opportunitas suaeque et liberorum aetatis, quae etiam mediocres viros spe praedae transversos agit; ad hoc, studia Numidarum in Jugurtham accensa; ex quibus, si talem virum dolis interfecisset, ne qua seditio aut bellum oriretur anxius erat.

VII. His difficultatibus circumventus ubi videt neque per vim neque insidiis opprimi posse hominem tam acceptum popularibus, quod erat Jugurtha manu promptus et adpetens gloriae militaris, statuit eum objectare periculis et eo modo fortunam tentare. Igitur bello Numantino Micipsa quum populo Romano equitum atque peditum auxilia mitteret, sperans vel ostentando virtutem vel hostium saevitia facile eum occasurum, praefecit Numidis quos in Hispaniam mittebat. Sed ea res longe aliter, ac ratus erat, evenit. Nam Jugurtha, ut erat impigro atque acri ingenio, ubi naturam P. Scipionis, qui tum Romanis imperator erat, et morem hostium cognovit, multo labore multaque cura, praeterea modestissime parendo et saepe obviam eundo periculis in tantam claritudinem brevi pervenerat, ut nostris vehementer carus, Numantinis maximo terrori esset. Ac sane, quod difficillumum in primis est, et praelio strenuus erat et bonus consilio;

quorum alterum ex providentia timorem, alterum ex audacia temeritatem adferre plerumque solet. Igitur imperator omnes fere res asperas per Jugurtham agere, in amicis habere, magis magisque in dies amplecti; quippe cujus neque consilium neque inceptum ullum frustra erat. Huc accedebat munificentia animi et ingenii sollertia, queis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia conjunxerat.

VIII. Ea tempestate in exercitu nostro fuere complures novi atque nobiles, quibus divitiae bono honestoque potiores erant, factiosi domi, potentes apud socios, clari magis quam honesti, qui Jugurthae non mediocrem animum pollicitando accendebant, "si Micipsa rex occidisset, fore, uti solus imperii Numidiae potiretur: in ipso maximam virtutem, Romae omnia venalia esse." Sed postquam Numantia deleta P. Scipio dimittere auxilia, ipse reverti domum decrevit, donatum atque laudatum magnifice pro concione Jugurtham in praetorium abduxit ibique secreto monuit, "uti potius publice, quam privatim, amicitiam populi R. coleret; neu quibus largiri insuesceret; periculose a paucis emi, quod multorum esset: si permanere vellet in suis artibus, ultro illi et gloriam et regnum venturum; sin properantius pergeret, suamet ipsum pecunia praecipitem casurum."

IX. Sic locutus, cum litteris eum, quas Micipsae redderet, dimisit: earum sententia haec erat: "Jugurthae tui bello Numantino longe maxima virtus fuit; quam rem tibi certo scio gaudio esse: nobis ob merita carus est; uti idem senatui sit et populo Romano, summa ope nitemur. Tibi quidem pro nostra amicitia gratulor. En habes virum dignum te atque

avo suo Masinissa." Igitur rex ubi ea quae fama acceperat, ex litteris imperatoris ita esse cognovit, quum virtute viri tum gratia permotus flexit animum suum et Jugurtham beneficiis vincere adgressus est; statimque eum adoptavit et testamento pariter cum filiis heredem instituit. Sed ipse paucos post annos morbo atque aetate confectus quum sibi finem vitae adesse intelligeret, coram amicis et cognatis, item Adherbale et Hiempsale filiis, dicitur hujuscemodi verba cum Jugurtha habuisse.

X. "Parvum ego, Jugurtha, te, amisso patre, sine spe, sine opibus in meum regnum accepi; existimans non minus me tibi quam liberis, si genuissem, ob beneficia carum fore: neque ea res falsum me habuit. Nam, ut alia magna et egregia tua omittam, novissime rediens Numantia meque regnumque meum gloria honoravisti; tua virtute nobis Romanos ex amicis amicissimos fecisti; in Hispania nomen familiae renovatum est; postremo, quod difficillimum inter mortales est, gloria invidiam vicisti. Nunc, quoniam mihi natura vitae finem facit, per hanc dextram, per regni fidem moneo obtestorque te, uti hos, qui tibi genere propinqui, beneficio meo fratres sunt, caros habeas; neu malis alienos adjungere quam sanguine conjunctos retinere. Non exercitus neque thesauri praesidia regni sunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere neque auro parare queas: officio et fide pariuntur. Quis autem amicior, quam frater fratri? aut quem alienum fidum invenies, si tuis hostis fueris? Equidem ego vobis regnum trado firmum, si boni eritis; sin mali, imbecillum. Nam concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae dilabuntur. Ceterum ante hos te,

Jugurtha, qui aetate et sapientia prior es, ne aliter quid eveniat providere decet. Nam in omni certamine, qui opulentior est, etiamsi accipit injuriam tamen quia plus potest, facere videtur. Vos autem, Adherbal et Hiempsal, colite, observate talem hunc virum, imitamini virtutem, et enitimini, ne ego meliores liberos sumpsisse videar, quam genuisse."

XI. Ad ea Jugurtha, tametsi regem ficta locutum intelligebat, et ipse longe aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benigne respondit. Micipsa paucis post diebus moritur. Postquam illi more regio justa magnifice fecerant, reguli in unum convenere, uti inter se de cunctis negotiis disceptarent. Sed Hiempsal, qui minimus ex illis erat, natura ferox et jam ante ignobilitatem Jugurthae, quia materno genere impar erat, despiciens, dextra Adherbalem adsedit; ne medius ex tribus, quod apud Numidas honori ducitur, Jugurtha foret. Dein tamen, uti aetati concederet fatigatus a fratre, vix in partem alteram transductus est. Ibi cum multa de administrando imperio dissererent, Jugurtha inter alias res jacit: "oportere quinquennii consulta omnia et decreta rescindi; nam per ea tempora confectum annis Micipsam parum animo valuisse." Tum idem, Hiempsal, "placere sibi," respondit: "nam ipsum illum tribus proximis annis adoptatione in regnum pervenisse." Quod verbum in pectus Jugurthae altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Itaque ex eo tempore ira et metu anxius moliri, parare; atque ea modo cum animo habere, quibus Hiempsal per dolum caperetur. Quae ubi tardius procedunt, neque lenitur animus ferox, statuit quovis modo inceptum perficere.

XII. Primo conventu, quem ab regulis factum supra memoravi, propter dissensionem placuerat dividi thesauros finesque imperii singulis constitui. Itaque tempus ad utramque rem decernitur, sed maturius ad pecuniam distribuendam. Reguli interea in loca propinqua thesauris, alius alio, concessere. Sed Hiempsal in oppido Thirmida forte ejus domo utebatur, qui, proximus lictor Jugurthae carus acceptusque semper fuerat; quem ille casu ministrum oblatum promissis onerat impellitque, uti tamquam suam visens domum eat, portarum claves adulterinas paret; nam verae ad Hiempsalem referebantur; ceterum, ubi res postularet, se ipsum cum magna manu venturum. Numida mandata brevi confecit atque, ut doctus erat, noctu Jugurthae milites introducit. Qui postquam in aedes irrupere, diversi regem quaerere; dormientes alios, alios occursantes interficere; scrutari loca abdita; clausa effringere; strepitu et tumultu omnia miscere quum Hiempsal interim reperitur, occultans se in tugurio mulieris ancillae, quo initio pavidus et ignarus loci perfugerat. Numidae caput ejus, uti jussi erant, ad Jugurtham referunt.

XIII. Ceterum fama tanti facinoris per omnem Africam brevi divulgatur; Adherbalem omnesque, qui sub imperio Micipsae fuerant, metus invadit; in duas partes discedunt; plures Adherbalem sequuntur, sed illum alterum bello meliores. Igitur Jugurtha quam maximas potest copias armat; urbes partim vi, alias voluntate imperio suo adjungit; omni Numidiae imperare parat. Adherbal, tametsi Romam legatos miserat, qui senatum docerent de caede fratris et fortunis suis, tamen, fretus multitudine militum, parabat

armis contendere. Sed ubi res ad certamen venit, victus ex proelio profugit in provinciam ac deinde Romam contendit. Tum Jugurtha, patratis consiliis, postquam omnis Numidiae potiebatur, in otio facinus suum cum animo reputans, timere populum Romanum, neque adversus iram ejus usquam nisi in avaritia nobilitatis et pecuniā sua spem habere. Itaque paucis diebus cum auro et argento multo Romam mittit, queis praecepit, primum uti veteres amicos muneribus expleant; deinde novos acquirant; postremo quemcumque possint largiendo parare ne cunctentur. Sed ubi Romam legati venere et ex praecepto regis hospitibus aliisque, quorum ea tempestate auctoritas pollebat, magna munera misere tanta commutatio incessit, uti ex maxima invidia in gratiam et favorem nobilitatis Jugurtha veniret, quorum pars spe, alii praemio inducti, singulos ex Senatu ambiendo nitebantur, ne gravius in eum consuleretur. Igitur legati ubi satis confidunt, die constituto, senatus utrisque datur. Tum Adherbalem hoc modo locutum accepimus.

XIV. "Patres conscripti, Micipsa pater meus moriens praecepit, uti regnum Numidiae tantummodo procuratione existimarem meum; ceterum jus et imperium penes vos esse; simul eniterer domi militiaeque quam maximo usui esse populo Romano; vos mihi cognatorum, vos affinium loco ducerem: si ea fecissem, in vestra amicitia exercitum, divitias, munimenta regni me habiturum. Quae quum praecepta parentis mei agitarem, Jugurtha, homo omnium quos terra sustinet sceleratissimus, contempto imperio vestro, Masinissae me nepotem et jam ab stirpe socium et amicum populi Romani regno fortunisque omnibus expulit. Atque

ego, Patres conscripti, quoniam eo miseriarum venturus eram, vellem potius ob mea quam ob majorum beneficia posse a vobis auxilium petere, ac maxime deberi mihi a populo Romano, quibus non egerem; secundum, ea si desideranda erant, uti debitis uterer. Sed quoniam parum tuta per se ipsa probitas est, neque mihi in manu fuit, Jugurtha qualis foret, ad vos confugi, Patres conscripti, quibus, quod miserrimum est, cogor prius oneri quam usui esse. Ceteri reges aut bello victi in amicitiam a vobis recepti sunt, aut in suis dubiis rebus societatem vestram appetiverunt; familia nostra cum populo Romano bello Carthaginiensi amicitiam instituit, quo tempore magis fides ejus quam fortuna petenda erat. Quorum progeniem vos, Patres conscripti, nolite pati me, nepotem Masinissae, frustra a vobis auxilium petere. Si ad impetrandum nihil caussae haberem praeter miserandam fortunam, quod paullo ante rex, genere, fama atque copiis potens, nunc deformatus aerumnis, inops, alienas opes exspecto, tamen erat majestatis populi Romani prohibere injuriam, neque pati cujusquam regnum per scelus crescere. Verum ego his finibus ejectus sum, quos majoribus meis populus Romanus dedit, unde pater et avus una vobiscum expulere Syphacem et Carthaginienses. Vestra beneficia mihi erepta sunt, Patres conscripti; vos in injuria mea despecti estis. Eheu me miserum! Huccine, Micipsa pater, beneficia evasere, uti, quem tu parem cum liberis tuis regnique participem fecisti, is potissimum stirpis tuae extinctor sit? Nunquamne ergo familia nostra quieta erit? semperne in sanguine, ferro, fuga versabimur? Dum Carthaginienses incolumes fuere, jure omnia saeva patiebamur: hostes ab

latere, vos amici procul, spes omnis in armis erat. Postquam illa pestis ex Africa ejecta est, laeti pacem agitabamus; quippe queis hostis nullus erat, nisi forte quem vos jussissetis. Ecce autem ex improviso, Jugurtha intoleranda audacia, scelere atque superbia sese efferens, fratre meo atque eodem propinquo suo interfecto, primum regnum ejus sceleris sui praedam fecit; post, ubi me iisdem dolis nequit capere, nihil minus quam vim aut bellum exspectantem in imperio vestro, sicuti videtis, extorrem patria, domo, inopem et coopertum miseriis, effecit, ut ubivis tutius quam in meo regno essem. Ego sic existimabam, Patres conscripti, ut praedicantem audiveram patrem meum, qui vestram amicitiam colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere; ceterum ex omnibus maxime tutos esse. Quod in familia nostra fuit, praestitit, uti in omnibus bellis vobis adessent; nos uti per otium tuti simus in manu vestra est, Patres conscripti. Pater nos duos fratres reliquit; tertium, Jugurtham, beneficiis suis ratus est nobis conjunctum fore. Alter eorum necatus, alterius ipse ego manus impias vix effugi. Quid agam? quo potissimum infelix accedam? Generis praesidia omnia extincta sunt: pater, uti necesse erat, naturae concessit: fratri, quem minime decuit, propinquus per scelus vitam eripuit: adfines, amicos, propinquos ceteros, alium alia clades oppressit; capti ab Jugurtha, pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt; pauci, quibus relicta est anima, clausi in tenebris cum moerore et luctu morte graviorem vitam exigunt. Si omnia, quae aut amisi, aut ex necessariis adversa facta sunt, incolumia manerent, tamen, si quid ex improviso accidisset, vos implorarem, Patres conscripti; quibus,

pro magnitudine imperii, jus et injurias omnes curae esse decet. Nunc vero, exsul patria, domo, solus atque omnium honestarum rerum egens, quo accidam, aut quos appellam? nationesne an reges, qui omnes familiae nostrae ob vestram amicitiam infesti sunt? an quoquam mihi adire licet, ubi non majorum meorum hostilia monumenta plurima sint? aut quisquam nostri misereri potest, qui aliquando vobis hostis fuit? Postremo Masinissa nos ita instituit, Patres conscripti, ne quem coleremus nisi populum Romanum, ne societates, ne foedera nova acciperemus: abunde magna praesidia nobis in vestra amicitia fore: si huic imperio fortuna mutaretur, una nobis occidendum esse. Virtute ac dis volentibus magni estis et opulenti: omnia secunda et obedientia sunt; quo facilius sociorum injurias curare licet. Tantum illud vereor, ne quos privata amicitia Jugurthae parum cognita transversos agat: quos ego audio maxima ope niti, ambire, fatigare vos singulos, ne quid de absente, incognita caussa, statuatis; fingere me verba, fugam simulare, cui licuerit in regno manere. Quod utinam illum, cujus impio facinore in has miserias projectus sum, eadem haec simulantem videam; et aliquando aut apud vos, aut apud deos immortales, rerum humanarum cura oriatur! nae ille, qui nunc sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus est, omnibus malis excruciatus impietatis in parentem nostrum, fratris mei necis mearumque miseriarum graves poenas reddet. Jam jam frater, animo meo carissime, quamquam tibi immaturo, et unde minime decuit, vita erepta est, tamen laetandum magis quam dolendum puto casum tuum; non enim regnum, sed fugam, exilium, egestatem et omnes has,

quae me premunt, aerumnas cum anima simul amisisti. At ego infelix, in tanta mala praecipitatus ex patrio regno, rerum humanarum spectaculum praebeo, incertus quid agam; tuasne injurias persequar, ipse auxilii egens, an regno consulam, cujus vitae necisque potestas ex opibus alienis pendet. Utinam emori fortunis meis honestus exitus esset, neu jure contemtus viderer, si defessus malis injuriae concessissem. Nunc neque vivere lubet, neque mori licet sine dedecore. Patres conscripti, per vos, per liberos atque parentes, per majestatem populi Romani, subvenite misero mihi; ite obviam injuriae; nolite pati regnum Numidiae, quod vestrum est, per scelus et sanguinem familiae nostrae tabescere."

XV. Postquam rex finem loquendi fecit, legati Jugurthae, largitione magis quam causa freti, paucis respondent: "Hiempsalem ob saevitiam suam ab Numidis interfectum: Adherbalem, ultro bellum inferentem, postquam superatus sit, queri, quod injuriam facere nequivisset: Jugurtham ab senatu petere, ne alium putarent ac Numantiae cognitus esset, neu verba inimici ante facta sua ponerent." Deinde utrique curia egrediuntur. Senatus statim consulitur: fautores legatorum, praeterea magna pars gratia depravata, Adherbalis dicta contemnere, Jugurthae virtutem extollere laudibus: gratia, voce, denique omnibus modis pro alieno scelere et flagitio, sua quasi pro gloria, nitebantur. At contra pauci, quibus bonum et aequum divitiis carius erat, subveniendum Adherbali, et Hiempsalis mortem severe vindicandam censebant; sed ex omnibus maxime Aemilius Scaurus, homo nobilis, impiger, factiosus, avidus potentiae, honoris, divitiarum; ceterum vitia sua callide occultans. Is postquam videt

regis largitionem famosam impudentemque, veritus, quod in tali re solet, ne polluta licentia invidiam accenderet, animum a consueta lubidine continuit.

XVI. Vicit tamen in senatu pars illa, quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat. Decretum fit, uti decem legati regnum, quod Micipsa obtinuerat, inter Jugurtham et Adherbalem dividerent: cujus legationis princeps fuit L. Opimius, homo clarus et tum in senatu potens; quia consul C. Graccho et M. Fulvio Flacco interfectis acerrime victoriam nobilitatis in plebem exercuerat. Eum Jugurtha tametsi Romae in inimicis habuerat, tamen accuratissime recepit; dando et pollicitando multa perfecit, uti fama, fide, postremo omnibus suis rebus commodum regis anteferret. Reliquos legatos eadem via aggressus, plerosque capit; paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit. In divisione quae pars Numidiae Mauretaniam attingit, agro virisque opulentior, Jugurthae traditur; illam alteram, specie quam usu potiorem, quae portuosior et aedificiis magis exornata erat, Adherbal possedit.

XVII. Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere, et eas gentes, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere. Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de his haud facile compertum narraverim; cetera quam paucissimis absolvam. In divisione orbis terrae plerique in partia tertia Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse; sed Africam in Europa. Ea fines habet ab occidente fretum nostri maris et oceani; ab ortu solis declivem latitudinem, quem locum Catabathmon incolae appellant. Mare saevum, importuosum; ager frugum fertilis, bonus

pecori, arbore infecundus; caelo terraque penuria aquarum. Genus hominum salubri corpore, velox, patiens laborum; plerosque senectus dissolvit, nisi qui ferro aut bestiis interiere; nam morbus haud saepe quemquam superat; ad hoc malefici generis plurima animalia. Sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint, quique postea accesserint, aut quomodo inter se permixti sint, quamquam ab ea fama, quae plerosque obtinet, diversum est, tamen uti ex libris Punicis qui regis Hiempsalis dicebantur, interpretatum nobis est, utique rem sese habere cultores ejus terrae putant, quam paucissimis dicam. Ceterum fides ejus rei penes auctores erit.

XVIII. Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique; queis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum, uti pecoribus. Hi neque moribus neque lege neque imperio cujusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, qua nox coëgerat sedes habebant. Sed postquam in Hispania Hercules, sicuti Afri putant, interiit, exercitus ejus, compositus ex variis gentibus, amisso duce ac passim multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus, brevi dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae et Armenii, navibus in Africam transvecti, proximos nostro mari locos occupavere. Sed Persae intra oceanum magis; iique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis habuere, quia neque materia in agris, neque ab Hispanis emendi aut mutandi copia erat; mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant. Hi paullatim per connubia Gaetulos secum miscuere, et quia saepe tentantes agros alia, deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. Ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, ob-

longa, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt. Medi autem et Armenii accessere Libyes (nam hi propius mare Africum agitabant, Gaetuli sub sole magis, haud procul ab ardoribus) hique mature oppida habuere: nam freto divisi ab Hispania mutare res inter se instituerant. Nomen eorum paullatim Libyes corrupere, barbara lingua Mauros pro Medis appellantes. Sed res Persarum brevi adolevit; ac postea nomine Numidae, propter multitudinem a parentibus digressi, possedere ea loca, quae proxime Carthaginem Numidia appellatur. Dein utrique, alteris freti, finitimos armis aut metu sub imperium coegere, nomen gloriamque sibi addidere; magis hi qui ad nostrum mare processerant: quia Libyes, quam Gaetuli, minus bellicosi. Denique Africae pars inferior pleraque ab Numidis possessa est; victi omnes in gentem nomenque imperantium concessere.

XIX. Postea Phoenices, alii multitudinis domi minuendae gratia, pars imperii cupidine sollicitata plebe et aliis novarum rerum avidis, Hipponem, Hadrumetum, Leptim, aliasque urbes in ora maritima condidere; haeque brevi multum auctae, pars originibus suis praesidio, aliae decori fuere. Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto, quam parum dicere; quoniam alio properare tempus monet. Igitur ad Catabathmon, qui locus Aegyptum ab Africa dividit, secundo mari prima Cyrene est, colonia Thereôn, ac deinceps duae Syrtes, interque eas Leptis; dein Philaenôn arae, quem locum, Aegyptum versus, finem imperii habuere Carthaginienses; post aliae Punicae urbes. Cetera loca usque ad Mauretaniam Numidae tenent; proxime Hispaniam Mauri sunt; super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus par-

tim in tuguriis, alios incultius vagos agitare; post eos Aethiopas esse; dein loca exusta solis ardoribus. Igitur bello Jugurthino pleraque ex Punicis oppida et fines Carthaginiensium, quos novissime habuerant, populus Romanus per magistratus administrabat; Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidia usque ad flumen Mulucham sub Jugurtha erant; Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat, praeter nomen cetera ignarus populi Romani; itemque nobis neque bello neque pace antea cognitus. De Africa et ejus incolis ad necessitudinem rei satis dictum.

XX. Postquam, diviso regno, legati Africa decessere, et Jugurtha contra timorem animi praemia sceleris adeptum sese videt, certum ratus, quod ex amicis apud Numantiam acceperat, omnia Romae venalia esse, simul et illorum pollicitationibus accensus, quos paullo ante muneribus expleverat, in regnum Adherbalis animum intendit. Ipse acer, bellicosus; at is, quem petebat, quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio, opportunus injuriae, metuens magis quam metuendus. Igitur ex improviso fines ejus cum magna manu invadit, multos mortales cum pecore atque alia praeda capit, aedificia incendit pleraque loca hostiliter cum equitatu accedit; dein cum omni multitudine in regnum suum convertit, existimans dolore permotum Adherbalem injurias suas manu vindicaturum, eamque rem belli caussam fore. At ille, quod neque se parem armis existimabat, et amicitia populi Romani magis quam Numidis fretus erat, legatos ad Jugurtham de injuriis questum misit; qui tametsi contumeliosa dicta retulerant, prius tamen omnia pati decrevit, quam bellum sumere; quia tentatum antea secus cesserat. Neque tamen eo magis

cupido Jugurthae minuebatur: quippe qui totum ejus regnum animo jam invaserat. Itaque non, ut antea, cum praedatoria manu, sed magno exercitu comparato, bellum gerere coepit et aperte totius Numidiae imperium petere. Ceterum qua pergebat urbes, agros vastare, praedas agere; suis animum, terrorem hostibus augere.

XXI. Adherbal ubi intelligit eo processum, uti regnum aut relinquendum esset, aut armis retinendum, necessario copias parat, et Jugurthae obvius procedit. Interim haud longe a mari, prope Cirtam oppidum, utriusque consedit exercitus: et quia die extremum erat, proelium non inceptum. Ubi plerumque noctis processit, obscuro etiam tum lumine, milites Jugurthini, signo dato, castra hostium invadunt; semisomnos partim, alios arma sumentes fugant funduntque; Adherbal cum paucis equitibus Cirtam profugit, et ni multitudo togatorum fuisset, quae Numidas insequentes moenibus prohibuit, uno die inter duos reges coeptum atque patratum bellum foret. Igitur Jugurtha oppidum circumsedit, vineis turribusque et machinis omnium generum expugnare aggreditur, maxime festinans tempus legatorum antecapere, quos ante proelium factum, ab Adherbale Romam missos audiverat. Sed postquam senatus de bello eorum accepit, tres adolescentes in Africam legantur, qui ambo reges adeant, senatus populique Romani verbis nuncient, "Velle et censere, eos ab armis discedere; de controversiis suis jure potius, quam bello, disceptare; ita seque illisque dignum esse."

XXII. Legati in Africam maturantes veniunt, eo magis, quod Romae, dum proficisci parant, de proelio

facto et oppugnatione Cirtae audiebatur: sed is rumor clemens erat. Quorum Jugurtha accepta oratione respondit: "Sibi neque majus quidquam neque carius auctoritate senati: ab adolescentia ita enisum, uti ab optimo quoque probaretur: virtute, non malitia P. Scipioni, summo viro, placuisse: ob easdem artes ab Micipsa, non penuria liberorum, in regnum adoptatum: ceterum, quo plura bene atque strenue fecisset, eo animum suum injuriam minus tolerare: Adherbalem dolis vitae suae insidiatum; quod ubi comperisset, sceleri obviam isse; populum Romanum neque recte neque pro bono facturum, si ab jure gentium sese prohibuerit: postremo de omnibus rebus legatos Romam brevi missurum." Ita utrique digrediuntur. Adherbalis appellandi copia non fuit.

XXIII. Jugurtha, ubi eos Africa decessisse ratus est, neque propter loci naturam Cirtam armis expugnare potest, vallo atque fossa moenia circumdat, turres exstruit, easque praesidiis firmat: praeterea dies noctesque, aut per vim aut dolis, tentare; defensoribus moenium praemia modo, modo formidinem ostentare; suos hortando ad virtutem erigere; prorsus intentus cuncta parare. Adherbal ubi intelligit omnes suas fortunas in extremo sitas, hostem infestum, auxilii spem nullam, penuria rerum necessariarum bellum trahi non posse, ex his, qui una Cirtam profugerant, duo maxime impigros delegit, eos multa pollicendo ac miserando casum suum confirmat, uti per hostium munitiones noctu ad proximum mare, dein Romam pergerent.

XXIV. Numidae paucis diebus jussa efficiunt; litterae Adherbalis in senatu recitatae, quarum sen-

tentia haec fuit: "Non mea culpa saepe ad vos oratum mitto, Patres conscripti, sed vis Jugurthae subigit; quem tanta lubido exstinguendi me invasit, uti neque vos, neque deos immortales in animo habeat; sanguinem meum, quam omnia, malit. Itaque quintum jam mensem socius et amicus populi Romani armis obsessus teneor; neque mihi Micipsae patris beneficia, neque vestra decreta auxiliantur; ferro, an fame, acrius urgear, incertus sum. Plura de Jugurtha scribere dehortatur me fortuna mea; etiam antea expertus sum, parum fidei miseris esse; nisi tamen intelligo, illum supra quam ego sum petere, neque simul amicitiam vestram et regnum meum sperare: utrum gravius existimet, nemini occultum est. Nam initio occidit Hiempsalem fratrem meum; deinde patrio regno me expulit:—quae sane fuerint nostrae injuriae, nihil ad vos. Verum nunc vestrum regnum armis tenet; me, quem vos imperatorem Numidis posuistis, clausum obsidet; legatorum verba quanti fecerit pericula mea declarant. Quid reliquum, nisi vis vestra, quo moveri possit? Nam ego quidem vellem et haec, quae scribo, et illa, quae antea in senatu questus sum, vana forent potius, quam miseria mea fidem verbis faceret. Sed quoniam eo natus sum ut Jugurthae scelerum ostentui essem, non jam mortem neque aerumnas, tantummodo inimici imperium et cruciatus corporis deprecor. Regno Numidiae, quod vestrum est, uti lubet, consulite; me ex manibus impiis eripite, per majestatem imperii, per amicitiae fidem, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae."

XXV. His litteris recitatis fuere, qui exercitum in Africam mittendum censerent, et quam primum

Adherbali subveniendum; de Jugurtha interim uti consuleretur, quoniam non paruisset legatis. Sed ab iisdem regis fautoribus summa ope enisum, ne tale decretum fieret. Ita bonum publicum, ut in plerisque negotiis solet, privata gratia devictum. Leguntur tamen in Africam majores natu, nobiles, amplis honoribus; in queis M. Scaurus, de quo supra memoravimus, consularis et tunc in senatu princeps. Hi, quod in invidia res erat, simul et ab Numidis obsecrati, triduo navim ascendere; deinde brevi Uticam appulsi, litteras ad Jugurtham mittunt, "quam ocissime ad provinciam accedat; seque ad eum ab senatu missos." Ille ubi accepit homines claros, quorum auctoritatem Romae pollere audiverat, contra inceptum suum venisse, primo commotus, metu atque lubidine diversus agitabatur. Timebat iram senati, ni paruisset legatis; porro animus cupidine caecus ad inceptum scelus rapiebat. Vicit tamen in avido ingenio pravum consilium. Igitur exercitu circumdato summa vi Cirtam irrumpere nititur, maxime sperans diducta manu hostium aut vi aut dolis sese casum victoriae inventurum. Quod ubi secus procedit, neque quod intenderat efficere potest, uti prius quam legatos conveniret Adherbalis potiretur, ne amplius morando, Scaurum, quem plurimum metuebat, incenderet, cum paucis equitibus in provinciam venit. Ac, tamen etsi senati verbis minae graves nunciabantur, quod oppugnatione non desisteret, multa tamen oratione consumta legati frustra discessere.

XXVI. Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditione facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani in-

violatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque, et oppidum Jugurthae tradat; tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur, de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnia potiora fide Jugurthae rebatur, quia penes eosdem, si adversaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Jugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat; deinde omnes puberes Numidas et negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatis obvius fuerat, interfecit.

XXVII. Quod postquam Romae cognitum est, et res in senatu agitari coepta, idem illi ministri regis interpellando ac saepe gratia, interdum jurgiis trahendo tempus atrocitatem facti leniebant. Ac ni C. Memmius, tribunus plebis designatus, vir acer et infestus potentiae nobilitatis, populum Romanum edocuisset id agi, uti per paucos factiosos Jugurthae scelus condonaretur, profecto omnis invidia prolatandis consultationibus dilapsa erat: tanta vis gratiae atque pecuniae regis. Sed ubi senatus delicti conscientia populum timet, lege Sempronia provinciae futuris consulibus Numidia atque Italia decretae: consules declarantur P. Scipio Nasica, L. Bestia Calpurnius: Calpurnio Numidia, Scipioni Italia obvenit: deinde exercitus, qui in Africam portaretur, scribitur: stipendium aliaque, quae bello usui forent, decernuntur.

XXVIII. At Jugurtha contra spem nuncio accepto, quippe cui Romae omnia venum ire in animo haeserat, filium et cum eo duo familiares ad senatum legatos mittit; hisque ut illis, quos Hiempsale interfecto miserat, praecepit, "omnes mortales pecunia aggrediantur." Qui postquam Romam adventabant se

natus a Bestia consultus est, "placeretne legatos Jugurthae recipi moenibus:" iique decrevere, "nisi regnum ipsumque deditum venissent, uti in diebus proximis decem Italia decederent." Consul Numidis ex senati decreto nunciari jubet: ita infectis rebus illi domum discedunt. Interim Calpurnius, parato exercitu, legat sibi homines nobiles, factiosos, quorum auctoritate quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat; in queis fuit Scaurus, cujus de natura et habitu supra memoravimus. Nam in consule nostro multae bonaeque artes animi et corporis erant, quas omnes avaritia praepediebat; patiens laborum, acri ingenio, satis providens, belli haud ignarus, firmissimus contra pericula et insidias. Sed legiones per Italiam Rhegium atque inde Siciliam, porro ex Sicilia in Africam transvectae. Igitur Calpurnius initio paratis commeatibus acriter Numidiam ingressus est, multosque mortales et urbes aliquot pugnando capit.

XXIX. Sed ubi Jugurtha per legatos pecunia tentare, bellique, quod administrabat, asperitatem ostendere coepit, animus aeger avaritia facile conversus est. Ceterum socius et administer omnium consiliorum assumitur Scaurus; qui tametsi a principio, plerisque ex factione ejus corruptis, acerrime regem impugnaverat, tamen magnitudine pecuniae a bono honestoque in pravum abstractus est. Sed Jugurtha primum tantummodo belli moram redimebat, existimans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum: postea vero quam participem negotii Scaurum accepit, in maximam spem adductus recuperandae pacis statuit cum iis de omnibus pactionibus praesens agere. Ceterum interea fidei caussa mittitur

a consule Sextius quaestor in oppidum Jugurthae Vagam, cujus rei species erat acceptio frumenti, quod Calpurnius palam legatis imperaverat; quoniam deditionis mora induciae agitabantur. Igitur rex, uti constituerat, in castra venit, ac pauca praesenti consilio locutus de invidia facti sui, atque in deditionem uti acciperetur, reliqua cum Bestia et Scauro secreta transigit; dein postero die, quasi per saturam exquisitis sententiis, in deditionem accipitur. Sed, uti pro consilio imperatum erat, elephanti triginta, pecus atque equi multi cum parvo argenti pondere, quaestori traduntur. Calpurnius Romam ad magistratus rogandos proficiscitur. In Numidia et exercitu nostro pax agitabatur.

XXX. Postquam res in Africa gestas, quoque modo actae forent, fama divulgavit, Romae per omnes locos et conventus de facto consulis agitari. Apud plebem gravis invidia; Patres solliciti erant; probarentne tantum flagitium, an decretum consulis subverterent, parum constabat. Ac maxime eos potentia Scauri, quod is auctor et socius Bestiae ferebatur, a vero bonoque impediebat. At C. Memmius, cujus de libertate ingenii et odio potentiae nobilitatis supra diximus, inter dubitationem et moras senati, concionibus populum ad vindicandum hortari; monere, ne rempublicam, ne libertatem suam desererent; multa superba et crudelia facinora nobilitatis ostendere: prorsus intentus omni modo plebis animum accendebat. Sed quoniam ea tempestate Romae Memmii facundia clara pollensque fuit, decere existimavi, unam ex tam multis orationem perscribere: ac potissimum ea dicam, quae in concione post reditum Bestiae hujuscemodi verbis disseruit.

XXXI. "Multa me dehortantur a vobis, Quirites, ni studium reipublicae omnia superet; opes factionis, vestra patientia, jus nullum, ac maxime, quod innocentiae plus periculi quam honoris est. Nam illa quidem piget dicere, his annis xv, quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum; quam foede, quamque inulti perierint vestri defensores, ut vobis animus ab ignavia atque socordia corruptus sit, qui ne nunc quidem, obnoxiis inimicis, exsurgitis, atque etiam nunc timetis eos, quibus decet terrori esse. Sed quamquam haec talia sunt, tamen obviam ire factionis potentiae animus subigit: certe ego libertatem, quae mihi a parente tradita est, experiar: verum id frustra, an ob rem faciam, in vestra manu situm, Quirites. Neque ego hortor, quod saepe majores vestri fecere, uti contra injurias armati eatis. Nihil vi, nihil secessione opus est: necesse est suomet ipsi more praecipites eant. Occiso Tiberio Graccho, quem regnum parare aiebant, in plebem Romanam quaestiones habitae sunt: post C. Gracchi et M. Fulvii caedem item vestri ordinis multi mortales in carcere necati sunt: utriusque cladis non lex, verum lubido eorum finem fecit. Sed sane fuerit regni paratio plebi sua restituere: quidquid sine sanguine civium ulcisci nequitur, jure factum sit. Superioribus annis taciti indignabamini aerarium expilari; reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere; penes eosdem et summam gloriam, et maximas divitias esse: tamen haec talia facinora impune suscepisse parum habuere: itaque postremo leges, majestas vestra, divina et humana omnia hostibus tradita sunt. Neque eos; qui ea fecere, pudet aut poenitet; sed incedunt per ora vestra magnifice,

sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes, perinde quasi ea honori, non praedae habeant. Servi aere parati imperia injusta dominorum non perferunt: vos, Quirites, imperio nati, aequo animo servitutem toleratis? At qui sunt hi, qui rempublicam occupavere? homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immani avaritia, nocentissimi idemque superbissimi; queis fides, decus, pietas, postremo honesta atque inhonesta omnia quaestui sunt. Pars eorum occidisse tribunos plebis, alii quaestiones injustas, plerique caedem in vos fecisse pro munimento habent. Ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est; metum a scelere suo ad ignaviam vestram transtulere; quos omnes eadem cupere, eadem odisse, eadem metuere in unum coëgit. Sed haec inter bonos amicitia inter malos factio est. Quod si tam vos libertatis curam haberetis, quam illi ad dominationem accensi sunt, profecto neque res publica, sicuti nunc, vastaretur, et beneficia vestra penes optimos, non audacissimos forent. Majores vestri parandi juris et majestatis constituendae gratia bis per secessionem armati Aventinum occupavere: vos pro libertate, quam ab illis accepistis, non summa ope nitemini? atque eo vehementius, quod majus dedecus est, parta amittere, quam omnino non paravisse? Dicet aliquis: Quid igitur censes? Vindicandum in eos, qui hosti prodidere rempublicam? Non manu, neque vi, quod magis vos fecisse quam illis accidisse, indignum est, verum quaestionibus et indicio ipsius Jugurthae; qui si dediticius est, profecto jussis vestris obediens erit; sin ea contemnit, scilicet existimabitis qualis illa pax aut deditio sit, ex qua ad Jugurtham scelerum impunitas, ad

paucos potentes maximae divitiae, in rempublicam damna atque dedecora pervenerint. Nisi forte nondum etiam vos dominationis eorum satietas tenet, et illa, quam haec tempora, magis placent, quum regna, provinciae, leges, jura, judicia, bella atque paces, postremo divina et humana omnia penes paucos erant; vos autem, hoc est populus Romanus, invicti ab hostibus, imperatores omnium gentium, satis habebatis animam retinere; nam servitutem quidem quis vestrum recusare audebat? Atque ego tametsi viro flagitiosissimum existimo impune injuriam accepisse, tamen vos hominibus sceleratissimis ignoscere, quoniam cives sunt, aequo animo paterer, nisi misericordia in perniciem casura esset. Nam et illis, quantum importunitatis habent, parum est impune male fecisse, nisi deinde faciendi licentia eripitur; et vobis aeterna sollicitudo remanebit, quum intelligetis, aut serviendum esse, aut per manus libertatem retinendam. Nam fidei quidem aut concordiae quae spes est? Dominari illi volunt, vos liberi esse; facere illi injurias, vos prohibere: postremo sociis vestris veluti hostibus, hostibus pro sociis utuntur. Potestne in tam diversis mentibus pax aut amicitia esse? Quare moneo hortorque vos ne tantum scelus impunitum omittatis. Non peculatus aerarii factus est, neque per vim sociis ereptae pecuniae; quae, quamquam gravia, tamen consuetudine jam pro nihilo habentur. Hosti acerrimo prodita senati auctoritas, proditum imperium vestrum; domi militiaeque respublica venalis fuit. Quae nisi quaesita erunt, ni vindicatum in noxios, quid reliquum, nisi ut illis, qui ea fecere, obedientes vivamus? nam impune quae libet facere id est regem esse. Neque

ego vos, Quirites, hortor, ut malitis cives vestros perperam, quam recte fecisse, sed ne ignoscendo malis bonos perditum eatis. Ad hoc in republica multo praestat beneficii quam maleficii immemorem esse: bonus tantummodo segnior fit ubi negligas, at malus improbior. Ad hoc si injuriae non sint, haud saepe auxilii egeas."

XXXII. Haec atque alia hujuscemodo saepe dicendo Memmius populo persuadet, uti L. Cassius, qui tum praetor erat, ad Jugurtham mitteretur, eumque interposita fide publica, Romam duceret; quo facilius, indicio regis, Scauri et reliquorum, quos pecuniae captae arcessebant, delicta patefierent. Dum haec Romae geruntur, qui in Numidia relicti a Bestia exercitui praeerant, secuti morem imperatoris sui, plurima et flagitiosissima facinora fecere. Fuere, qui auro corrupti elephantos Jugurthae traderent; alii perfugas vendere; pars ex pacatis praedas agebant: tanta vis avaritiae in animos eorum, veluti tabes, invaserat. At Cassius, perlata rogatione a C. Memmio ac perculsa omni nobilitate, ad Jugurtham proficiscitur; eique timido et ex conscientia diffidenti rebus suis persuadet: "quoniam se populo Romano dedisset, ne vim quam misericordiam ejus experiri mallet." Privatim praeterea fidem suam interponit, quam ille non minoris quam publicam ducebat: talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat.

XXXIII. Igitur Jugurtha contra decus regium cultu quam maxime miserabili cum Cassio Romam venit; ac tametsi in ipso magna vis animi erat, confirmatus ab omnibus, quorum potentia aut scelere cuncta ea gesserat, quae supra diximus, C. Baebium

tribunum plebis magna mercede parat, cujus impudentia contra jus et injurias omnes munitus foret. At C. Memmius, advocata concione, quamquam regi infesta plebes erat, et pars in vincula duci jubebat, pars, ni socios sceleris sui aperiret, more majorum, de hoste supplicium sumi, dignitati, quam irae magis consulens sedare motus et animos eorum mollire; postremo confirmare fidem publicam per sese inviolatam fore. Post, ubi silentium coepit, producto Jugurtha verba facit; Romae Numidiaeque facinora ejus memorat, scelera in patrem fratresque ostendit: "quibus juvantibus quibusque ministris ea egerit, quamquam intelligat populus Romanus, tamen velle manifesta magis ex illo habere; si vera aperiret, in fide et clementia populi Romani magnam spem illi sitam; sin reticeat, non sociis saluti fore, sed se suasque spes corrupturum."

XXXIV. Dein, ubi Memmius dicendi finem fecit, et Jugurtha respondere jussus est, C. Baebius tribunus plebis, quem pecunia corruptum supra diximus, regem tacere jubet; ac, tametsi multitudo, quae in concione aderat, vehementer accensa, terrebat eum clamore, vultu, saepe impetu atque aliis omnibus, quae ira fieri amat, vicit tamen impudentia. Ita populus ludibrio habitus ex concione discedit; Jugurthae Bestiaeque et ceteris, quos illa quaestio exagitabat, animi augescunt.

XXXV. Erat ea tempestate Romae Numida quidam, nomine Massiva, Gulussae filius, Masinissae nepos; qui, quia in dissensione regum Jugurthae adversus fuerat, dedita Cirta et Adherbale interfecto profugus ex Africa abierat. Huic Sp. Albinus, qui

proximo anno post Bestiam cum Q. Municio Rufo consulatum gerebat, persuadet, quoniam ex stirpe Masinissae sit, Jugurtham ob scelera invidia cum metu urgeat, regnum Numidiae ab senatu petat. Avidus consul belli gerendi, moveri quam senescere omnia malebat: ipsi provincia Numidia, Minucio Macedonia evenerat. Quae postquam Massiva agitare coepit, neque Jugurthae in amicis satis praesidii est, quod eorum alium conscientia, alium mala fama et timor impediebat, Bomilcari, proximo ac maxime fido sibi, imperat, "pretio, sicuti multa confecerat, insidiatores Massivae paret, ac maxime occulte; sin id parum procedat, quovis modo Numidam interficiat." Bomilcar mature regis mandata exsequitur; et per homines talis negotii artifices itinera egressusque ejus, postremo loca atque tempora cuncta explorat; deinde, ubi res postulabat, insidias tendit. Igitur unus ex eo numero, qui ad caedem parati erant paullo inconsultius Massivam adgreditur, illum obtruncat; sed ipse deprehensus multis hortantibus et in primis Albino consule indicium profitetur. Fit reus magis ex aequo bonoque, quam ex jure gentium Bomilcar, comes ejus, qui Romam fide publica venerat. At Jugurtha manifestus tanti sceleris non prius omisit contra verum niti, quam animum advertit supra gratiam atque pecuniam suam invidiam facti esse. Igitur, quamquam in priore actione ex amicis quinquaginta vades dederat, regno magis quam vadibus consulens clam in Numidiam Bomilcarem dimittit, veritus ne reliquos populares metus invaderet parendi sibi, si de illo supplicium sumtum foret, et ipse paucis diebus profectus est, jussus ab senatu Italia decedere. Sed postquam Roma

egressus est, fertur saepe eo tacitus respiciens postremo dixisse, URBEM VENALEM ET MATURE PERITURAM, SI EMPTOREM INVENERIT!

XXXVI. Interim Albinus renovato bello commeatum, stipendium, aliaque quae militibus usui forent, maturat in Africam portare; ac statim ipse profectus, uti ante comitia, quod tempus haud longe aberat armis aut deditione aut quovis modo bellum conficeret. At contra Jugurtha trahere omnia, et alias, deinde alias morae caussas facere: polliceri deditionem, ac deinde metum simulare: instanti cedere et paullo post, ne sui diffiderent, instare: ita belli modo, modo pacis mora consulem ludificari. Ac fuere, qui tum Albinum haud ignarum consilii regis existimarent, neque ex tanta properantia tam facile tractum bellum secordia magis quam dolo crederent. Sed postquam dilapso tempore comitiorum dies adventabat, Albinus Aulo fratre in castris pro praetore relicto Romam decessit.

XXXVII. Ea tempestate Romae seditionibus tribuniciis atrociter respublica agitabatur. P. Lucullus et L. Annius, tribuni plebis, resistentibus collegis, continuare magistratum nitebantur: quae dissensio totius anni comitia impediebat. Ea mora in spem adductus Aulus, quem pro praetore in castris relictum supra diximus, aut conficiendi belli, aut terrore exercitus ab rege pecuniae capiendae, milites mense Januario ex hibernis in expeditionem evocat; magnis itineribus, hieme aspera, pervenit ad oppidum Suthul, ubi regis thesauri erant. Quod quamquam et saevitia temporis et opportunitate loci neque capi neque obsideri poterat (nam circum murum, situm in prae-

rupti montis extremo, planities limosa hiemalibus aquis paludem fecerat,) tamen aut simulandi gratia, quo regi formidinem adderet, aut cupidine caecus ob thesauros oppidi potiundi, vineas agere, aggerem jacere, aliaque, quae incepto usui forent, properare.

XXXVIII. At Jugurtha cognita vanitate atque imperitia legati subdolus ejus augere amentiam, missitare supplicantes legatos; ipse, quasi vitabundus, per saltuosa loca et tramites exercitum ductare. Denique Aulum spe pactionis perpulit, uti relicto Suthule in abditas regiones sese veluti cedentem insequeretur; ita delicta occultiora fore. Interea per homines callidos die noctuque exercitum tenebat; centuriones ducesque turmarum partim uti transfugerent corrumpere, alii signo dato locum uti desererent. Quae postquam ex sententia instruit, intempestate nocte de improviso multitudine Numidarum Auli castra circumvenit. Milites Romani, tumultu perculsi insolito, arma capere alii, alii se abdere, pars territos confirmare; trepidare omnibus locis: vis magna hostium; caelum nocte atque nubibus obscuratum; periculum anceps; postremo fugere an manere tutius foret in incerto erat. Sed ex eo numero, quos paullo ante corruptos diximus, cohors una Ligurum cum duabus turmis Thracum et paucis gregariis militibus transiere ad regem; et centurio primi pili tertiae legionis per munitionem, quam, uti defenderet, acceperat, locum hostibus introëundi dedit; eaque Numidae cuncti irrupere. Nostri foeda fuga, plerique abjectis armis proximum collem occupavere. Nox atque praeda castrorum hostes quo minus victoria uterentur remorata sunt. Dein Jugurtha postero die cum Aulo

in colloquio verba facit: "tametsi ipsum cum exercitu fame, ferroque clausum tenet, tamen se, humanarum rerum memorem, si secum foedus faceret, incolumes omnes sub jugum missurum: praeterea, uti diebus decem Numidia decederet." Quae quamquam gravia et flagitii plena erant, tamen, quia mortis metu mutabant, sicuti regi libuerat, pax convenit.

XXXIX. Sed ubi ea Romae comperta sunt, metus atque moeror civitatem invasere: pars dolere pro gloria imperii; pars, insolita rerum bellicarum, timere libertati: Aulo omnes infesti, ac maxime qui bello saepe praeclari fuerant, quod armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat. Ob ea consul Albinus ex delicto fratris invidiam ac deinde periculum timens, senatum de foedere consulebat; et tamen interim exercitu supplementum scribere; ab sociis et nomine Latino auxilia arcessere; denique modis omnibus festinare. Senatus ita, uti par fuerat, decernit, suo atque populi injussu nullum potuisse foedus fieri. Consul impeditus a tribunis plebis, ne quas paraverat copias secum portaret, paucis diebus in Africam proficiscitur; nam omnis exercitus, uti convenerat, Numidia deductus, in provincia hiemabat. Postquam eo venit, quamquam persequi Jugurtham et mederi fraternae invidiae animus ardebat, cognitis militibus, quos praeter fugam soluto imperio licentia atque lascivia corruperat, ex copia rerum statuit sibi nihil agitandum.

XL. Interea Romae C. Mamilius Limetanus tribunus plebis rogationem ad populum promulgat "uti quaereretur in eos, quorum consilio Jugurtha senati decreta neglegisset; quique ab eo in legationibus, aut

imperiis pecunias accepissent; qui elephantos, quique perfugas tradidissent; item qui de pace, aut bello, cum hostibus pactiones fecissent." Huic rogationi partim conscii sibi, alii ex partium invidia pericula metuentes, quoniam aperte resistere non poterant, quin illa et alia talia placere sibi faterentur, occulte per amicos, ac maxime per homines nominis Latini et socios Italicos impedimenta parabant. Sed plebes incredibile memoratu est quam intenta fuerit, quantaque vi rogationem jusserit, decreverit, voluerit; magis odio nobilitatis, cui mala illa parabantur, quam cura reipublicae: tanta lubido in partibus erat. Igitur ceteris metu perculsis M. Scaurus, quem legatum Bestiae fuisse supra docuimus, inter laetitiam plebis et suorum fugam, trepida etiam tum civitate, quum ex Mamilia rogatione tres quaesitores rogarentur, effecerat, uti ipse in eo numero crearetur. Sed quaestio exercita aspere violenterque, ex rumore et lubidine plebis: ut saepe nobilitatem, sic ea tempestate plebem ex secundis rebus insolentia ceperat.

XLI. Ceterum mos partium popularium et senati factionum, ac deinde omnium malarum artium paucis ante annis Romae ortus est, otio et abundantia earum rerum, quae prima mortales ducunt. Nam ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rempublicam tractabant; neque gloriae, neque dominationis certamen inter cives erat; metus hostilis in bonis artibus civitatem retinebat. Sed ubi illa formido mentibus decessit, scilicet ea, quae secundae res amant, lascivia atque superbia, incessere. Ita quod in adversis rebus optaverant otium, postquam adepti sunt, asperius acerbiusque

fuit. Namque coepere nobilitas dignitatem, populus libertatem in lubidinem vertere; sibi quisque ducere, trahere, rapere. Ita omnia in duas partes abstracta sunt; respublica, quae media fuerat, dilacerata. Ceterum nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat; paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur; penes eosdem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant; populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interea parentes aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur. Ita cum potentia avaritia sine modo modestiaque invadere, polluere et vastare omnia; nihil pensi neque sancti habere, quoad semet ipsa praecipitavit. Nam ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam injustae potentiae anteponerent, moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.

XLII. Nam postquam Tiberius et C. Gracchus, quorum majores Punico atque aliis bellis multum reipublicae addiderant, vindicare plebem in libertatem et paucorum scelera patefacere coepere, nobilitatis noxia atque eo perculsa modo per socios ac nomen Latinum, interdum per equites Romanos, quos spes societatis a plebe dimoverat, Gracchorum actionibus obviam ierat; et primo Tiberium, dein paucos post annos eadem ingredientem Caium, tribunum alterum, alterum triumvirum coloniis deducendis, cum M. Fulvio Flacco, ferro necaverat. Et sane Gracchis cupidine victoriae haud satis moderatus animus fuit. Sed bono vinci satius est, quam malo more injuriam vincere. Igitur

ea victoria nobilitas ex lubidine sua usa, multos mortales ferro aut fuga exstinxit; plusque in reliquum sibi timoris quam potentiae addidit. Quae res plerumque magnas civitates pessum dedit; dum alteri alteros vincere quovis modo et victos acerbius ulcisci volunt. Sed de studiis partium et omnibus civitatis moribus si singulatim aut pro magnitudine parem disserere, tempus, quam res maturius me deseret. Quamobrem ad inceptum redeo.

XLIII. Post Auli foedus exercitusque nostri foedam fugam Q. Metellus et M. Silanus, consules designati, provincias inter se partiverant, Metelloque Numidia evenerat, acri viro et quamquam adverso populi partium famā tamen aequabili et inviolatā. Is ubi primum magistratum ingressus est, alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus, ad bellum, quod gesturus erat, animum intendit. Igitur diffidens veteri exercitui, milites scribere, praesidia undique arcessere, arma, tela, equos, et cetera instrumenta militiae parare, ad hoc commeatum affatim; denique omnia, quae bello vario et multarum rerum egenti usui esse solent. Ceterum ad ea patranda senati auctoritate socii nomenque Latinum, et reges ultro auxilia mittere; postremo omnis civitas summo studio adnitebatur. Itaque ex sententia omnibus rebus paratis compositisque, in Numidiam proficiscitur magna spe civium, quum propter bonas artes, tum maxime, quod adversum divitias invictum animum gerebat, et avaritiā magistratuum ante id tempus in Numidia nostrae opes contusae, hostiumque auctae erant.

XLIV. Sed ubi in Africam venit, exercitus ei traditur Sp. Albini proconsulis iners, imbellis, neque

periculi neque laboris patiens, lingua quam manu promptior, praedator ex sociis et ipse praeda hostium, sine imperio et modestia habitus. Ita imperatori novo plus ex malis moribus sollicitudinis quam ex copia militum auxilii aut spei bonae accedebat. Statuit tamen Metellus, quamquam et aestivorum tempus comitiorum mora imminuerat, et exspectatione eventus civium animos intentos putabat, non prius bellum adtingere, quam majorum disciplina milites laborare coëgisset. Nam Albinus, Auli fratris exercitusque clade perculsus, postquam decreverat non egredi provincia, quantum temporis aestivorum in imperio fuit plerumque milites stativis castris habebat, nisi quum odos aut pabuli egestas locum mutare subegerat. Sed neque muniebantur ea, neque more militari vigiliae deducebantur; uti cuique lubebat ab signis aberat. Lixae permixti cum militibus die noctuque vagabantur, et palantes agros vastare, villas expugnare, pecoris et mancipiorum praedas certantes agere; eaque mutare cum mercatoribus vino advectitio et aliis talibus; praeterea frumentum publice datum vendere, panem in dies mercari; postremo, quaecumque dici aut fingi queunt ignaviae luxuriaeque probra, in illo exercitu cuncta fuere, et alia amplius.

XLV. Sed in ea difficultate Metellum non minus quam in rebus hostilibus magnum et sapientem virum fuisse comperior, tanta temperantia inter ambitionem saevitiamque moderatum. Namque edicto primum adjumenta ignaviae sustulisse, "ne quisquam in castris panem, aut quem alium coctum cibum venderet; ne lixae exercitum sequerentur; ne miles gregarius in castris neve in agmine servum aut jumentum haberet:"

ceteris arte modum statuisse: praeterea transversis itineribus quotidie castra movere; juxta ac si hostes adessent, vallo atque fossa munire, vigilias crebras ponere, et ipse cum legatis circumire: item in agmine in primis modo, modo in postremis, saepe in medio adesse, ne quisquam ordine egrederetur, uti cum signis frequentes incederent, miles cibum et arma portaret. Ita prohibendo a delictis, magis quam vindicando exercitum brevi confirmavit.

XLVI. Interea Jugurtha, ubi, quae Metellus agebat ex nunciis accepit simul de innocentia ejus certior Romae factus, diffidere suis rebus, ac tum demum veram deditionem facere conatus est. Igitur legatos ad consulem cum suppliciis mittit, qui tantummodo ipsi liberisque vitam peterent, alia omnia dederent populo Romano. Sed Metello jam antea experimentis cognitum erat genus Numidarum infidum, ingenio mobili, novarum rerum avidum esse. Itaque legatos alium ab alio diversos adgreditur; ac, paullatim tentando, postquam opportunos cognovit, multa pollicendo, persuadet, "uti Jugurtham, maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent:" ceterum palam, quae ex voluntate forent, regi nunciari jubet. Deinde ipse paucis diebus intento atque infesto exercitu in Numidiam procedit; ubi, contra belli faciem, tuguria plena hominum, pecora cultoresque in agris erant: ex oppidis et mapalibus praefecti regis obvii procedebant, parati frumentum dare, commeatum portare, postremo omnia, quae imperarentur, facere. Neque Metellus idcirco minus, sed pariter ac si hostes adessent, munito agmine incedere, late explorare omnia, illa deditionis signa ostentui

credere, et insidiis locum tentari. Itaque ipse cum expeditis cohortibus, item funditorum et sagittariorum delecta manu apud primos erat; in postremo C. Marius legatus cum equitibus curabat; in utrumque latus auxiliarios equites tribunis legionum et praefectis cohortium dispertiverat, uti cum his permixti velites, quacumque accederent equitatus hostium, propulsarent. Nam in Jugurtha tantus dolus, tantaque peritia locorum et militiae erat, uti, absens an praesens pacem an bellum gerens perniciosior esset in incerto haberetur.

XLVII. Erat haud longe ab eo itinere, quo Metellus pergebat, oppidum Numidarum, nomine Vaga, forum rerum venalium totius regni maxime celebratum; ubi et incolere et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales. Huc consul, simul tentandi gratia et, si paterentur, opportunitate loci praesidium imposuit; praeterea imperavit frumentum et alia, quae bello usui forent, comportare; ratus, id quod res monebat, frequentiam negotiatorum et commeatum juvaturum exercitum, et jam pacatis rebus munimento fore. Inter haec negotia Jugurtha impensius modo legatos supplices mittere, pacem orare, praeter suam liberorumque vitam, omnia Metello dedere. Quos item, uti priores, consul illectos ad proditionem domum dimittebat: regi pacem, quam postulabat, neque abnuere neque polliceri, et inter eas moras promissa legatorum exspectare.

XLVIII. Jugurtha ubi Metelli dicta cum factis composuit, ac se suis artibus tentari animadvertit; quippe cui verbis pax nunciabatur, ceterum re bellum asperrimum erat, urbs maxima alienata, ager hostibus

cognitus, animi popularium tentati; coactus rerum necessitudine statuit armis certare. Igitur explorato hostium itinere in spem victoriae adductus ex opportunitate loci quam maximas copias potest omnium generum parat, ac per tramites occultos exercitum Metelli antevenit. Erat in ea parte Numidiae, quam Adherbal in divisione possederat, flumen oriens a meridie, nomine Muthul; a quo aberat mons ferme millia passuum xx., tractu pari, vastus ab natura et humano cultu: sed ex eo medio quasi collis oriebatur, in immensum pertingens, vestitus oleastro ac myrtetis aliisque generibus arborum, quae humi arido atque arenoso gignuntur. Media autem planities deserta penuria aquae, praeter flumini propinqua loca: ea consita arbustis, pecore atque cultoribus frequentabantur.

XLIX. Igitur in eo colle, quem transverso itinere porrectum docuimus, Jugurtha extenuata suorum acie consedit; elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium Bomilcarem praefecit, eumque edocet, quae ageret; ipse propior montem cum omni equitatu et peditibus delectis suos collocat. Dein singulas turmas atque manipulos circumiens monet atque obtestatur, "uti memores pristinae virtutis et victoriae sese regnumque suum ab Romanorum avaritia defendant: cum his certamen fore, quos antea victos sub jugum miserint: ducem illis, non animum, mutatum: quae ab imperatore decuerint, omnia suis provisa; locum superiorem, uti prudentes cum imperitis, ne pauciores cum pluribus, aut rudes cum bello melioribus manum consererent; proinde parati intentique essent, signo dato, Romanos invadere; illum diem aut omnes labores et victorias

confirmaturum, aut maximarum aerumnarum initium fore." Ad hoc viritim, uti quemque ob militare facinus pecunia aut honore extulerat, commonefacere beneficii sui, et eum ipsum aliis ostentare; postremo pro cujusque ingenio, pollicendo, minitando, obtestando alium alio modo excitare; quum interim Metellus, ignarus hostium monte degrediens cum exercitu conspicatur; primo dubius, quidnam insolita facies ostenderet (nam inter virgulta equi Numidaeque consederant, neque plane occultati humilitate arborum, et tamen incerti, quidnam esset, cum natura loci, tum dolo ipsi atque signa militaria obscurati), dein, brevi cognitis insidiis, paullisper agmen constituit. Ibi, commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere, quod proximum hostes erat, triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruxit: inter manipulos funditores et sagittarios dispertit; equitatum omnem in cornibus locat, ac pauca pro tempore milites hortatus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, transversis principiis, in planum deducit.

L. Sed, ubi Numidas quietos neque colle degredi animadvertit, veritus ex anni tempore et inopia aquae, ne siti conficeretur exercitus, Rutilium legatum cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitum praemisit ad flumen, uti locum castris antecaperet, existimans, hostes crebro impetu et transversis praeliis iter suum remoraturos, et quoniam armis diffiderent, lassitudinem et sitim militum tentaturos. Dein ipse pro re atque loco, sicuti monte descenderat, paullatim procedere; Marium post principia habere; ipse cum sinistrae alae equitibus esse, qui in agmine principes facti erant. At Jugurtha, ubi extremum agmen Metelli primos suos praetergressum videt praesidio quasi duum

millium peditum montem occupat, qua Metellus descenderat; ne forte cedentibus adversariis receptui ac post munimento foret: dein repente, signo dato, hostes invadit. Numidae alii postremos caedere, pars a sinistra ac dextera tentare, infensi adesse atque instare, omnibus locis Romanorum ordines conturbare; quorum etiam qui firmioribus animis obvii hostibus fuerant ludificati incerto praelio ipsi modo eminus sauciabantur, neque contra feriendi aut manum conserendi copia erat. Antea jam docti ab Jugurtha equites, ubicumque Romanorum turba insequi coeperat, non confertim, neque in unum sese recipiebant, sed alius alio quam maxime diversi. Ita numero priores si ab persequendo hostes deterrere nequiverant, disjectos ab tergo, aut lateribus circumveniebant; sin opportunior fugae collis quam campi fuerant, ea vero consueti Numidarum equi facile inter virgulta evadere; nostros asperitas et insolentia loci retinebant.

LI. Ceterum facies totius negotii varia, incerta, foeda, atque miserabilis; dispersi a suis pars cedere, alii insequi; neque signa neque ordines observare; ubi quemque periculum ceperat, ibi resistere ac propulsare; arma, tela, equi, viri, hostes, cives permixti; nihil consilio neque imperio agi; fors omnia regere. Itaque multum diei processerat, quum etiam tum eventus in incerto erat. Denique omnibus labore et aestu languidis, Metellus, ubi videt Numidas minus instare, paullatim milites in unum conducit, ordines restituit, et cohortes legionarias quatuor adversum pedites hostium collocat. Eorum magna pars superioribus locis fessa consederat. Simul orare, hortari milites, "ne deficerent, neu paterentur hostes fugientes vincere; neque

illis castra esse, neque munimentum ullum quo cedentes tenderent: in armis omnia sita." Sed ne Jugurtha quidem interea quietus; circumire, hortari, renovare proelium, et ipse cum delectis tentare omnia; subvenire suis, hostibus dubiis instare, quos firmos cognoverat, eminus pugnando retinere.

LII. Eo modo inter se duo imperatores, summi viri, certabant; ipsi pares, ceterum opibus disparibus. Nam Metello virtus militum erat, locus adversus; Jugurthae alia omnia praeter milites opportuna. Denique Romani, ubi intelligunt neque sibi perfugium esse, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, et jam die vesper erat; adverso colle, sicuti praeceptum fuerat, evadunt. Amisso loco Numidae fusi fugatique: pauci interiere; plerosque velocitas et regio hostibus ignara tutata sunt. Interea Bomilcar, quem elephantis et parti copiarum pedestrium praefectum ab Jugurtha supra diximus, ubi eum Rutilius praetergressus est, paullatim suos in aequum locum deducit; ac, dum legatus ad flumen, quo praemissus erat, festinans pergit, quietus, uti res postulabat, aciem exornat, neque remittit, quid ubique hostis ageret, explorare. Postquam Rutilium consedisse jam et animo vacuum accepit, simulque ex Jugurthae proelio clamorem augeri, veritus ne legatus cognita re laborantibus suis auxilio foret, aciem, quam diffidens virtuti militum arcte statuerat, quo hostium itineri officeret, latius porrigit, eoque modo ad Rutilii castra procedit.

LIII. Romani ex improviso pulveris vim magnam animadvertunt, nam prospectum ager arbustis consitus prohibebat; et primo rati humum aridam vento agitari post ubi aequabilem manere, et sicuti acies move-

batur magis magisque adpropinquare vident, cognita re properantes arma capiunt, ac pro castris, sicuti imperabatur, consistunt. Deinde, ubi propius ventum est, utrimque magno clamore concurritur. Numidae tantummodo remorati, dum in elephantis auxilium putant, postquam eos impeditos ramis arborum atque ita disjectos circumveniri vident, fugam faciunt, ac plerique, abjectis armis collis aut noctis, quae jam aderat, auxilio integri abeunt. Elephanti quatuor capti, reliqui omnes, numero quadraginta, interfecti. At Romani quamquam itinere atque opere castrorum et proelio fessi lassique erant, tamen, quod Metellus amplius opinione morabatur, instructi intentique obviam procedunt; nam dolus Numidarum nihil languidi neque remissi patiebatur. Ac primo obscura nocte, postquam haud procul inter se erant, strepitu, velut hostes, adventare, alteri apud alteros formidinem simul et tumultum facere; et paene imprudentia admissum facinus miserabile, ni utrimque praemissi equites rem exploravissent. Igitur pro metu repente gaudium exortum; milites alius alium laeti appellant, acta edocent atque audiunt; sua quisque fortia facta ad caelum ferre. Quippe res humanae ita sese habent: in victoria vel ignavis gloriari licet; adversae res etiam bonos detractant.

LIV. Metellus in isdem castris quatriduo moratus saucios cum cura reficit, meritos in proeliis more militiae donat, universos in concione laudat atque agit gratias; hortatur, ad cetera, quae levia sunt, parem animum gerant; pro victoria satis jam pugnatum, reliquos labores pro praeda fore. Tamen interim transfugas et alios opportunos, Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret, cum paucisne esset, an exercitum habe-

ret, uti sese victus gereret, exploratum misit. At ille sese in loca saltuosa et natura munita receperat; ibique cogebat exercitum numero hominum ampliorem, sed hebetem infirmumque, agri ac pecoris magis quam belli cultorem. Id ea gratia eveniebat, quod praeter regios equites nemo omnium Numidarum ex fuga regem sequitur; quo cujusque animus fert, eo discedunt; neque id flagitium militiae ducitur; ita se mores habent. Igitur Metellus ubi videt regis etiam tum animum ferocem esse; bellum renovari, quod nisi ex illius lubidine geri non posset; praeterea iniquum certamen sibi cum hostibus, minore detrimento illos vinci, quam suos vincere; statuit non proeliis neque acie, sed alio more bellum gerendum. Itaque in Numidiae loca opulentissima pergit, agros vastat, multa castella et oppida temere munita aut sine praesidio capit incenditque; puberes interfici jubet, alia omnia militum praedam esse. Ea formidine multi mortales Romanis dediti obsides; frumentum et alia, quae usui forent, adfatim praebita; ubicumque res postulabat, praesidium impositum. Quae negotia multo magis quam proelium male pugnatum ab suis regem terrebant; quippe, cui spes omnis in fuga sita erat, sequi cogebatur, et qui sua loca defendere nequiverat, in alienis bellum gerere. Tamen ex copia quod optimum videbatur consilium capit; exercitum plerumque in iisdem locis opperiri jubet, ipse cum delectis equitibus Metellum sequitur; nocturnis et aviis itineribus ignoratus Romanos palantes repente adgreditur. Eorum plerique inermes cadunt, multi capiuntur, nemo omnium intactus profugit, et Numidae prius quam ex castris subveniretur, sicuti jussi erant, in proximos colles discedunt.

LV. Interim Romae gaudium ingens ortum cognitis Metelli rebus; ut seque et exercitum more majorum gereret, in adverso loco, victor tamen virtute fuisset, hostium agro potiretur, Jugurtham magnificum ex Auli secordia spem salutis in solitudine aut fuga coëgisset habere. Itaque senatus ob ea feliciter acta dis immortalibus supplicia decernere, civitas trepida antea et sollicita de belli eventu laeta agere, de Metello fama praeclara esse. Igitur eo intentior ad victoriam niti, omnibus modis festinare; cavere tamen, necubi hosti opportunus fieret, meminisse, post gloriam invidiam sequi. Ita, quo clarior, eo magis animi anxius erat, neque post insidias Jugurthae effuso exercitu praedari; ubi frumento aut pabulo opus erat, cohortes cum omni equitatu praesidium agitabant; exercitus partem ipse, reliquos Marius ducebat. Sed igni magis, quam praeda, ager vastabatur. Duobus locis haud longe inter se castra faciebant; ubi vi opus erat, cuncti aderant; ceterum, quo fuga atque formido latius cresceret, diversi agebant. Eo tempore Jugurtha per colles sequi, tempus aut locum pugnae quaerere, qua venturum hostem audierat, pabulum et aquarum fontes, quorum penuria erat, corrumpere, modo se Metello, interdum Mario ostendere, postremos in agmine tentare, ac statim in colles regredi; rursus aliis, post aliis minitari, neque proelium facere, neque otium pati, tantummodo hostem ab incepto retinere.

LVI. Romanus imperator ubi se dolis fatigari videt, neque ab hoste copiam pugnandi fieri, urbem magnam et in ea parte, qua sita erat, arcem regni, nomine Zamam, statuit oppugnare; ratus, id quod ne-

gotium poscebat, Jugurtham laborantibus suis auxilio venturum, ibique proelium fore. At ille, quae parabantur, a perfugis edoctus, magnis itineribus Metellum antevenit, oppidanos hortatur, moenia defendant, additis auxilio perfugis, quod genus ex copiis regis, quia fallere nequibat, firmissimum erat; praeterea pollicetur in tempore semet cum exercitu affore. Ita compositis rebus in loca quam maxime occulta discedit, ac post paullo cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum cum paucis cohortibus Siccam missum; quod oppidum primum omnium post malam pugnam ab rege defecerat. Eo cum delectis equitibus noctu pergit, et jam egredientibus Romanis in porta pugnam facit: simul magna voce Siccenses hortatur, "uti cohortes ab tergo circumveniant; fortunam praeclari facinoris casum dare; si id fecerint, postea sese in regno, illos in libertate sine metu aetatem acturos." Ac ni Marius signa inferre atque evadere oppido properavisset, profecto cuncti aut magna pars Siccensium fidem mutavissent: tanta mobilitate sese Numidae agunt. Sed milites Jugurthini, paullisper ab rege sustentati, postquam majore vi hostes urgent, paucis amissis profugi discedunt.

LVII. Marius ad Zamam pervenit: id oppidum, in campo situm, magis opere quam natura munitum erat; nullius idoneae rei egens, armis virisque opulentum. Igitur Metellus pro tempore atque loco paratis rebus cuncta moenia exercitu circumvenit; legatis imperat, ubi quisque curaret; deinde signo dato undique simul clamor ingens oritur: neque ea res Numidas terret; infensi intentique sine tumultu manent: proelium incipitur. Romani, pro ingenio quisque, pars eminus glande aut lapidibus pugnare, alii succedere,

ac murum modo subfodere, modo scalis aggredi; cupere proelium [in] manibus facere. Contra ea oppidani in proximos saxa volvere, sudes, pila, praeterea pice et sulphure taedam mixtam ardenti mittere. Sed ne illos quidem, qui procul manserant, timor animi satis muniverat; nam plerosque jacula tormentis aut manu emissa vulnerabant; parique periculo, sed fama impari boni atque ignavi erant.

LVIII. Dum apud Zamam sic certatur, Jugurtha ex improviso castra hostium cum magna manu invadit; remissis, qui in praesidio erant, et omnia magis quam proelium exspectantibus, portam irrumpit. At nostri, repentino metu perculsi, sibi quisque pro moribus consulunt; alii fugere, alii arma capere; magna pars vulnerati, aut occisi. Ceterum ex omni multitudine non amplius quadraginta memores nominis Romani grege facto locum cepere paullo quam alii editiorem: neque inde maxima vi depelli quiverunt, sed tela eminus missa remittere, pauci in pluribus minus frustrati; sin Numidae propius accessissent, ibi vero virtutem ostendere et eos maxima vi caedere, fundere atque fugare. Interim Metellus, quum acerrime rem gereret, clamorem hostilem ab tergo accepit; deinde converso equo animadvertit fugam ad se versum fieri; quae res indicabat populares esse. Igitur equitatum omnem ad castra propere mittit, ac statim C. Marium cum cohortibus sociorum; eumque, lacrimans, per amicitiam perque rempublicam obsecrat, ne quam contumeliam remanere in exercitu victore, neve hostes inultos abire sinat: ille brevi mandata efficit. At Jugurtha munimento castrorum impeditus, quum alii super vallum praecipitarentur, alii in angustiis ipsi sibi properantes

officerent, multis amissis in loca munita sese recepit. Metellus, infecto negotio, postquam nox aderat, in castra cum exercitu revertitur.

LIX. Igitur postero die, prius quam ad oppugnandum egrederetur, equitatum omnem in ea parte, qua regis adventus erat, pro castris agitare jubet; portas et proxima loca tribunis dispertit; deinde ipse pergit ad oppidum atque, ut superiore die, murum aggreditur. Interim Jugurtha ex occulto repente nostros invadit: qui in proximo locati fuerant, paullisper territi perturbantur; reliqui cito subveniunt. Neque diutius Numidae resistere quivissent, ni pedites cum equitibus permixti magnam cladem in congressu facerent: quibus illi freti, non, ut equestri praelio solet, sequi, dein cedere; sed adversis equis concurrere, implicare ac perturbare aciem; ita expeditis peditibus suis hostes paene victos dare.

LX. Eodem tempore apud Zamam magna vi certabatur. Ubi quisque legatus aut tribunus curabat, eo acerrime niti; neque alius in alio magis quam in sese spem habere; pariterque oppidani agere, oppugnare, aut parare omnibus locis, avidius alteri alteros sauciare, quam semet tegere; clamor permixtus hortatione, laetitia, gemitu, item strepitus armorum ad caelum ferri; tela utrimque volare. Sed illi, qui moenia defensabant, ubi hostes paullum modo pugnam remiserant, intenti proelium equestre prospectabant: eos, uti quaeque Jugurthae res erant, laetos modo, modo pavidos, animadverteres; ac, sicuti audiri a suis aut cerni possent, monere alii, alii hortari, aut manu significare, aut niti corporibus, et ea huc illuc, quasi vitabundi aut jacientes tela, agitare. Quod ubi Mario

cognitum est (nam is in ea parte curabat), consulto lenius agere ac diffidentiam rei simularc; pati Numidas sine tumultu regis proelium visere. Ita illis studio suorum adstrictis, repente magna vi murum aggreditur: et jam scalis aggressi milites prope summa ceperant, cum oppidani concurrunt, lapides, ignem, alia praeterea tela ingerunt. Nostri primo resistere; deinde, ubi unae atque alterae scalae comminutae, qui supersteterant afflicti sunt; ceteri, quoquo modo potuere, pauci integri, magna pars confecti vulneribus, abeunt. Denique utrimque proelium nox diremit

LXI. Metellus postquam videt frustra inceptum, neque oppidum capi, neque Jugurtham, nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere, et jam aestatem exactam esse, ab Zama discedit, et in his urbibus, quae ad se defecerant satisque munitae loco aut moenibus erant, praesidia imponit. Ceterum exercitum in provinciam, quae proxima est Numidiae, hiemandi gratia collocat. Neque id tempus ex aliorum more quieti aut luxuriae concedit, sed quoniam armis bellum parum procedebat, insidias regi per amicos tendere et eorum perfidia pro armis uti parat. Igitur Bomilcarem, qui Romae cum Jugurtha fuerat, et inde vadibus datis clam de Massivae nece judicium fugerat, quod ei per maximam amicitiam maxima copia fallendi erat, multis pollicitationibus aggreditur; ac primo efficit, uti ad se colloquendi gratia occultus veniat; deinde, fide data, "si Jugurtham vivum aut necatum tradidisset, fore, ut illi senatus impunitatem et sua omnia concederet," facile Numidae persuadet, quum ingenio infido, tum metuenti ne, si pax cum Romanis fieret, ipse per condiciones ad supplicium traderetur.

LXII. Is, ubi primum opportunum fuit, Jugurtham anxium ac miserantem fortunas suas accedit; monet atque lacrimans obtestatur, "uti aliquando sibi liberisque et genti Numidarum, optime merenti, provideat; omnibus proeliis sese victos, agrum vastatum, multos mortales captos aut occisos, regni opes comminutas esse; satis saepe jam et virtutem militum et fortunam tentatam; caveat ne illo cunctante Numidae sibi consulant." His atque talibus aliis ad deditionem regis animum impellit. Mittuntur ad imperatorem legati, qui Jugurtham imperata facturum dicerent, ac sine ulla pactione sese regnumque suum in illius fidem tradere. Metellus propere cunctos senatorii ordinis ex hibernis accersiri jubet: eorum atque aliorum, quos idoneos ducebat, consilium habet. Ita more majorum ex consilii decreto per legatos Jugurthae imperat argenti pondo ducenta millia, elephantos omnes, equorum et armorum aliquantum. Quae postquam sine mora facta sunt, jubet omnes perfugas vinctos adduci; eorum magna pars, ut jussum erat, adducti; pauci, quum primum deditio coepit, ad regem Bocchum in Mauretaniam abierant. Igitur Jugurtha, ubi armis virisque et pecunia spoliatus est, quum ipse ad imperandum Tisidium vocaretur, rursus coepit flectere animum suum, et ex mala conscientia digna timere. Denique multis diebus per dubitationem consumptis, quum modo taedio rerum adversarum omnia bello potiora duceret, interdum secum ipse reputaret, quam gravis casus in servitium ex regno foret, multis magnisque praesidiis nequidquam perditis de integro bellum sumit. Romae senatus de provinciis consultus Numidiam Metello decreverat.

LXIII. Per idem tempus Uticae forte C. Mario per hostias diis supplicanti "magna atque mirabilia portendi" haruspex dixerat: "proinde quae animo agitabat, fretus dis ageret, fortunam quam saepissime experiretur; cuncta prospera eventura." At illum jam antea consulatūs ingens cupido exagitabat; ad quem capiendum praeter vetustatem familiae alia omnia abunde erant; industria, probitas, militiae magna scientia; animus belli ingens, domi modicus, lubidinis et divitiarum victor, tantummodo gloriae avidus. Sed is natus et omnem pueritiam Arpini altus, ubi primum aetas militiae patiens fuit, stipendiis faciendis, non Graeca facundia neque urbanis munditiis sese exercuit: ita inter artes bonas integrum ingenium brevi adolevit. Ergo ubi primum tribunatum militarem a populo petit, plerisque faciem ejus ignorantibus, facile notus per omnes tribus declaratur. Deinde ab eo magistratu alium post alium sibi peperit; semperque in potestatibus eo modo agitabat, uti ampliore, quam gerebat dignus haberetur. Tamen is ad id locorum talis vir (nam postea ambitione praeceps datus est), petere non audebat: etiam tum alios magistratus plebes, consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat: novus nemo tam clarus neque tam egregiis factis erat, quin is indignus illo honore, et quasi pollutus, haberetur.

LXIV. Igitur ubi Marius haruspicis dicta eodem intendere videt, quo cupido animi hortabatur, ab Metello petendi gratia missionem rogat: cui quamquam virtus, gloria, atque alia optanda bonis, superabant, tamen inerat contemtor animus et superbia, commune nobilitatis malum. Itaque primum commotus insolita re mirari ejus consilium, et quasi per amicitiam mo-

nere, "ne tam prava inciperet, neu super fortunam animum gereret; non omnia omnibus cupienda esse: debere illi res suas satis placere; postremo caveret id petere a populo Romano, quod illi jure negaretur." Postquam haec atque alia talia dixit, neque animus Marii flectitur, respondit, "ubi primum potuisset per negotia publica, facturum sese quae peteret." Ac postea saepius eadem postulanti fertur dixisse, "ne festinaret abire: satis mature illum cum filio suo consulatum petiturum." Is eo tempore contubernio patris ibidem militabat, annos natus circiter XX. Quae res Marium, quum pro honore, quem adfectabat, tum contra Metellum, vehementer accenderat. Ita cupidine atque ira, pessimis consultoribus, grassari; neque facto ullo neque dicto abstinere, quod modo ambitiosum foret; milites, quibus in hibernis praeerat, laxiore imperio, quam antea habere; apud negotiatores, quorum magna multitudo Uticae erat, criminose simul et magnifice de bello loqui: "dimidia pars exercitus sibi permitteretur, paucis diebus Jugurtham in catenis habiturum; ab imperatore consulto trahi, quod homo inanis et regiae superbiae imperio nimis gauderet." Quae omnia illis eo firmiora videbantur, quod diuturnitate belli res familiares corruperant, et animo cupienti nihil satis festinatur.

LXV. Erat praeterea in exercitu nostro Numida quidam, nomine Gauda, Mastanabalis filius, Masinissae nepos, quem Micipsa testamento secundum heredem scripserat, morbis confectus et ob eam caussam mente paullum imminuta. Cui Metellus petenti more regum uti sellam juxta poneret, item postea custodiae caussa turmam equitum Romanorum, utrumque nega-

verat; honorem, quod eorum modo foret, quos populus Romanus reges appellavisset; praesidium, quod contumeliosum in eos foret, si equites Romani satellites Numidae traderentur. Hunc Marius anxium aggreditur, atque hortatur, uti contumeliarum imperatoris cum suo auxilio poenas petat: hominem ob morbos animo parum valido secunda oratione extollit: "illum regem, ingentem virum, Masinissae nepotem esse: si Jugurtha captus aut occisus foret, imperium Numidiae sine mora habiturum: id adeo mature posse evenire, si ipse consul ad id bellum missus foret." Itaque et illum et equites Romanos, milites et negotiatores, alios ipse, plerosque spes pacis impellit, uti Romam ad suos necessarios aspere in Metellum de bello scribant, Marium imperatorem poscant. Sic illi a multis mortalibus honestissima suffragatione consulatus petebatur: simul ea tempestate plebes, nobilitate fusa per legem Mamiliam, novos extollebat. Ita Mario cuncta procedere.

LXVI. Interim Jugurtha, postquam omissa deditione bellum incipit, cum magna cura parare omnia, festinare, cogere exercitum; civitates, quae ab se defecerant, formidine, aut ostentando praemia, affectare; communire suos locos; arma, tela, alia, quae spe pacis amiserat, reficere, aut commercari; servitia Romanorum allicere, et eos ipsos, qui in praesidiis erant, pecunia tentare; prorsus nihil intactum neque quietum pati; cuncta agitare. Igitur Vagenses, quo Metellus initio, Jugurtha pacificante, praesidium imposuerat, fatigati regis suppliciis, neque antea voluntate alienati, principes civitatis inter se conjurant: nam vulgus, uti plerumque solet, et maxime Numidarum, ingenio mobili, seditiosum atque discordiosum erat, cupidum no-

varum rerum, quieti et otio adversum. Dein, compositis inter se rebus, in diem tertium constituunt, quod is festus celebratusque per omnem Africam ludum et lasciviam magis quam formidinem ostentabat. Sed, ubi tempus fuit, centuriones tribunosque militares, et ipsum praefectum oppidi T. Turpilium Silanum, alius alium domos suas invitant; eos omnes, praeter Turpilium, inter epulas obtruncant; postea milites palantes, inermes, quippe in tali die ac sine imperio, aggrediuntur. Idem plebes facit, pars edocti ab nobilitate, alii studio talium rerum incitati, queis acta consiliumque ignorantibus tumultus ipse et res novae satis placebant.

LXVII. Romani milites, improviso metu incerti ignarique quid potissimum facerent, trepidare; ad arcem oppidi, ubi signa et scuta erant, praesidium hostium; portae ante clausae fugam prohibebant; ad hoc mulieres puerique pro tectis aedificiorum saxa et alia, quae locus praebebat, certatim mittere. Ita neque caveri anceps malum, neque a fortissimis infirmissimo generi resisti posse; juxta boni malique, strenui et imbelles, inulti obtruncati. In ea tanta asperitate, saevissimis Numidis et oppido undique clauso, Turpilius praefectus unus ex omnibus Italicis profugit intactus. Id misericordiane hospitis, an pactione aut casu ita evenerit, parum comperimus; nisi, quia illi in tanto malo turpis vita famā integrā potior, improbus intestabilisque videtur.

LXVIII. Metellus postquam de rebus Vagae actis comperit, paullisper moestus e conspectu abit; deinde, ubi ira et aegritudo permixta sunt, cum maxima cura ultum ire injurias festinat. Legionem, cum qua hiem-

abeat, et quam plurimos potest Numidas equites pariter cum occasu solis expeditos educit, et postera die circiter horam tertiam pervenit in quamdam planitiem, locis paullo superioribus circumventam. Ibi milites fessos itineris magnitudine et jam abnuentes omnia docet, "oppidum Vagam non amplius mille passuum abesse; decere illos reliquum laborem aequo animo pati, dum pro civibus suis, viris fortissimis atque miserrimis, poenas caperent:" praeterea praedam benigne ostentat. Sic animis eorum arrectis, equites in primo late, pedites quam arctissime ire et signa occultare jubet.

LXIX. Vagenses ubi animum advertere ad se versum exercitum pergere, primo, uti erat res, Metellum rati, portas clausere; deinde, ubi neque agros vastari, et eos, qui primi aderant, Numidas equites vident, rursum Jugurtham arbitrati, cum magno gaudio obvii procedunt. Equites peditesque, repente signo dato, alii vulgum effusum oppido caedere; alii ad portas festinare; pars turres capere; ira atque praedae spes amplius, quam lassitudo, posse. Ita Vagenses biduum modo ex perfidia laetati: civitas magna et opulens poenae cuncta aut praedae fuit. Turpilius, quem praefectum oppidi unum ex omnibus profugisse supra ostendimus, jussus a Metello caussam dicere, postquam sese parum expurgat, condemnatus verberatusque capite poenas solvit: nam is civis ex Latio erat.

LXX. Per idem tempus Bomilcar, cujus impulsu Jugurtha deditionem, quam metu deseruit, inceperat, suspectus regi, et ipse eum suspiciens, novas res cupere; ad perniciem ejus dolum quaerere; diu noctuque fatigare animum. Denique, omnia tentando, socium sibi adjungit Nabdalsam, hominem nobilem, magnis opi-

bus, carum acceptumque popularibus suis; qui plerumque seorsum ab rege exercitum ductare, et omnes res exsequi solitus erat, quae Jugurthae fesso aut majoribus adstricto superaverant: ex quo illi gloria opesque inventae. Igitur utriusque consilio dies insidiis statuitur: caetera, uti res posceret, ex tempore parari placuit. Nabdalsa ad exercitum profectus, quem inter hiberna Romanorum jussus habebat, ne ager inultis hostibus vastaretur. Is postquam, magnitudine facinoris perculsus, ad tempus non venit, metusque rem impediebat, Bomilcar, simul cupidus incepta patrandi, et timore socii anxius, ne omisso vetere consilio novum quaereret, litteras ad eum per homines fideles mittit, in queis, "mollitiem secordiamque viri accusare: testari deos, per quos juravisset: monere ne praemia Metelli in pestem converteret: Jugurthae exitium adesse; ceterum suane an Metelli virtute periret, id modo agitari: proinde reputaret cum animo suo, praemia an cruciatum mallet."

LXXI. Sed quum hae litterae allatae, forte Nabdalsa exercito corpore fessus in lecto quiescebat, ubi cognitis Bomilcaris verbis primo cura, deinde, uti aegrum animum solet, somnus cepit. Erat ei Numida quidam, negotiorum curator, fidus acceptusque et omnium consiliorum, nisi novissimi, particeps. Qui postquam allatas litteras audivit, ex consuetudine ratus opera et ingenio suo opus esse, in tabernaculum introiit; dormiente illo, epistolam, super caput in pulvino temere positam, sumit ac perlegit; dein propere, cognitis insidiis, ad regem pergit. Nabdalsa post paullo experrectus, ubi neque epistolam repperit, et rem omnem, uti acta erat, cognovit, primo indicem

persequi conatus; postquam id frustra fuit, Jugurtham placandi gratia accedit; dicit, "quae ipse paravisset facere, perfidia clientis sui praeventa"; lacrimans obtestatur, "per amicitiam perque sua antea fideliter acta, ne super tali scelere suspectum sese haberet."

LXXII. Ad ea rex, aliter atque animo gerebat, placide respondit. Bomilcare aliisque multis, quos socios insidiarum cognoverat, interfectis iram oppresserat, ne qua ex eo negotio seditio oriretur. Neque post id locorum Jugurthae dies aut nox ulla quieta fuit; neque loco, neque mortali cuiquam, aut tempori, satis credere; cives, hostes, juxta metuere; circumspectare omnia, et omni strepitu pavescere; alio atque alio loco, saepe contra decus regium, noctu requiescere; interdum, somno excitus arreptis armis tumultum facere; ita formidine quasi vecordia exagitari.

LXXIII. Igitur Metellus, ubi de casu Bomilcaris et indicio patefacto ex perfugis cognovit, rursus tamquam ad integrum bellum cuncta parat festinatque. Marium, fatigantem de profectione, simul et invitum et offensum sibi parum idoneum ratus, domum dimittit. Et Romae plebes, litteris, quae de Metello ac Mario missae erant, cognitis, volenti animo de ambobus acceperant. Imperatori nobilitas, quae antea decori, invidiae esse: at illi alteri generis humilitas favorem addiderat: ceterum in utroque magis studia partium quam bona aut mala sua moderata sunt. Praeterea seditiosi magistratus vulgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus concionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in majus celebrare. Denique plebes sic accensa, uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium,

et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita perculsa nobilitate post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur; et postea populus a tribuno plebis Manilio Mancino rogatus, quem vellet cum Jugurtha bellum gerere, frequens Marium jussit. Sed senatus paullo ante Metello Numidiam decreverat: ea res frustra fuit.

LXXIV. Eodem tempore Jugurtha,—amissis amicis, quorum plerosque ipse necaverat, ceteri formidine, pars ad Romanos, alii ad regem Bocchum profugerant;—quum neque bellum geri sine administris posset, et novorum fidem in tanta perfidia veterum experiri periculosum duceret, varius incertusque agitabat; neque illi res, neque consilium, aut quisquam hominum satis placebat; itinera praefectosque in dies mutare; modo adversum hostes, interdum in solitudines pergere; saepe in fuga, ac post paullo spem in armis habere dubitare, virtuti popularium an fide minus crederet: ita, quocumque intenderat, res adversae erant. Sed inter eas moras repente sese Metellus cum exercitu ostendit. Numidae ab Jugurtha pro tempore parati instructique: dein proelium incipitur. Qua in parte rex pugnae adfuit, ibi aliquamdiu certatum; ceteri ejus milites primo concursu pulsi fugatique. Romani signorum et armorum aliquanto numero, hostium paucorum potiti: nam ferme Numidas in omnibus proeliis pedes magis quam arma tuta sunt.

LXXV. Ea fuga Jugurtha, impensius modo rebus suis diffidens, cum perfugis et parte equitatus in solitudines, dein Thalam pervenit, in oppidum magnum et opulentum, ubi plerique thesauri, filiorumque ejus multus pueritiae cultus erat. Quae postquam Me-

tello comperta sunt, quamquam inter Thalam flumenque proximum, spatio millium quinquaginta, loca arida atque vasta esse cognoverat, tamen spe patrandi belli, si ejus oppidi potitus foret, omnes asperitates supervadere, ac naturam etiam vincere aggreditur. Igitur omnia jumenta sarcinis levari jubet, nisi frumento dierum decem; ceterum utres modo et alia aquae idonea portari. Praeterea conquirit ex agris quam plurimum potest domiti pecoris; eoque imponit vasa cujusque modi, pleraque lignea, collecta ex tuguriis Numidarum. Ad hoc finitimis imperat, qui se post regis fugam Metello dederant, quam plurimum quisque aquae portarent; diem locumque, ubi praesto fuerint, praedicit. Ipse ex flumine, quam proximam oppido aquam supra diximus, jumenta onerat: eo modo instructus ad Thalam proficiscitur. Deinde, ubi ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat, et castra posita munitaque sunt, tanta repente caelo missa vis aquae dicitur, ut ea modo exercitui satis superque foret. Praeterea commeatus spe amplior; quia Numidae, sicuti plerique in nova deditione, officia intenderant. Ceterum milites religione pluvia magis usi: eaque res multum animis eorum addidit; nam rati sese dis immortalibus curae esse. Deinde postero die, contra opinionem Jugurthae, ad Thalam perveniunt. Oppidani, qui se locorum asperitate munitos crediderant, magna atque insolita re perculsi, nihilo segnius bellum parare: idem nostri facere.

LXXVI. Sed rex nihil jam infectum Metello credens, quippe qui omnia, arma, tela, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam ceteris imperitantem industria vicerat, cum liberis et magna parte pecuniae ex oppido

noctu profugit; neque postea in ullo loco amplius uno die aut una nocte moratus, simulabat sese negotii gratia properare; ceterum proditionem timebat, quam vitare posse celeritate putabat: nam talia consilia per otium et ex opportunitate capi. At Metellus, ubi oppidanos proelio intentos, simul oppidum et operibus et loco munitum videt, vallo fossaque moenia circumvenit. Deinde locis ex copia maxime idoneis vineas agere, aggerem jacere, et super aggerem impositis turribus opus et administros tutari. Contra haec oppidani festinare, parare: prorsus ab utrisque nihil reliquum fieri. Denique Romani, multo ante labore proeliisque fatigati, post dies quadraginta, quam eo ventum erat, oppido modo potiti: praeda omnis ab perfugis corrupta. Ii postquam murum arietibus feriri resque suas afflictas vident, aurum atque argentum et alia, quae prima ducuntur, domum regiam comportant: ibi vino et epulis onerati, illaque et domum et semet igni corrumpunt; et quas victi ab hostibus poenas metuerant, eas ipsi volentes pependere.

LXXVII. Sed pariter cum capta Thala legati ex oppido Lepti ad Metellum venerant, orantes, "uti praesidium praefectumque eo mitteret; Hamilcarem quemdam, hominem nobilem, factiosum, novis rebus studere; adversum quem neque imperia magistratuum, neque leges valerent; ni id festinaret, in summo periculo suam salutem, illorum socios fore." Nam Leptitani jam inde a principio belli Jugurthini ad Bestiam consulem et postea Romam miserant, amicitiam societatemque rogatum: deinde, ubi ea impetrata, semper boni fidelesque mansere, et cuncta a Bestia, Albino

Metelloque imperata gnave fecerant. Itaque ab imperatore facile quae petebant adepti, et missae eo cohortes Ligurum quatuor et C. Annius praefectus.

LXXVIII. Id oppidum ab Sidoniis conditum, quos accepimus profugos ob discordias civiles navibus in eos locos venisse; ceterum situm inter duas Syrtes, quibus nomen ex re inditum. Nam duo sunt sinus prope in extrema Africa, impares magnitudine, pari natura: quorum proxima terrae praealta sunt; cetera uti fors tulit alta; alia in tempestate vadosa. Nam ubi mare magnum esse et saevire ventis coepit, limum arenamque et saxa ingentia fluctus trahunt: ita facies locorum cum ventis simul mutatur. [Syrtes ab tractu nominatae.] Ejus civitatis lingua modo conversa connubio Numidarum; leges cultusque pleraque Sidonica; quae eo facilius retinebant, quod procul ab imperio regis aetatem agebant. Inter illos et frequentem Numidiam multi vastique loci erant.

LXXIX. Sed quoniam in has regiones per Leptitanorum negotia venimus, non indignum videtur egregium atque mirabile facinus duorum Carthaginiensium memorare: eam rem nos locus admonuit. Qua tempestate Carthaginienses pleraeque Africae imperitabant, Cyrenenses quoque magni atque opulenti fuere. Ager in medio arenosus, una specie; neque flumen, neque mons erat, qui fines eorum discerneret; quae res eos in magno diuturnoque bello inter se habuit. Postquam utrimque legiones, item classes fusae fugataeque, et alteri alteros aliquantum adtriverant, veriti, ne mox victos victoresque defessos alius aggrederetur, per inducias sponsionem faciunt, "uti certo die legati domo proficiscerentur; quo in loco inter se obvii fuissent, is

communis utriusque populi finis haberetur." Igitur Carthagine duo fratres missi, quibus nomen Philaenis erat, maturavere iter pergere: Cyrenenses tardius iere. Id secordiane an casu accideret, parum cognovi. Ceterum solet in illis locis tempestas haud secus atque in mari retinere. Nam ubi per loca aequalia et nuda gignentium ventus coortus arenam humo excitavit, ea magna vi agitata ora oculosque implere solet; ita prospectu impedito morari iter. Postquam Cyrenenses aliquanto posteriores se vident, et ob rem corruptam domi poenas metuunt, criminari Carthaginienses ante tempus domo digressos conturbare rem, denique omnia malle, quam victi abire. Sed, quum Poeni aliam condicionem, tantummodo aequam, peterent, Graeci optionem Carthaginiensibus faciunt, "ut vel illi, quos fines populo suo peterent, ibi vivi obruerentur; vel eadem condicione sese quem in locum vellent processuros." Philaeni condicione probata, seque vitamque reipublicae condonavere: ita vivi obruti. Carthaginienses in eo loco Philaenis fratribus aras consecravere; aliique illis domi honores instituti. Nunc ad rem redeo.

LXXX. Jugurtha postquam amissa Thala nihil satis firmum contra Metellum putat, per magnas solitudines cum paucis profectus pervenit ad Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque et eo tempore ignarum nominis Romani. Eorum multitudinem in unum cogit, ac paullatim consuefacit ordines habere, signa sequi, imperium observare, item alia militaria facere. Praeterea regis Bocchi proximos magnis muneribus et majoribus promissis ad studium sui perducit; queis adjutoribus regem aggressus impellit, uti

adversum Romanos bellum suscipiat. Id ea gratia facilius proniusque fuit, quod Bocchus initio hujusce belli legatos Romam miserat, foedus et amicitiam petitum; quam rem opportunissimam incepto bello pauci impediverant, caeci avaritia, queis omnia, honesta atque inhonesta, vendere mos erat. Etiam antea Jugurthae filia Bocchi nupserat. Verum ea necessitudo apud Numidas Maurosque levis ducitur; quod singuli, pro opibus quisque, quam plurimas uxores, denas alii, alii plures habent; sed reges eo amplius. Ita animus multitudine distrahitur; nulla pro socia obtinet; pariter omnes viles sunt.

LXXXI. Igitur in locum ambobus placitum exercitus conveniunt; ibi, fide data et accepta, Jugurtha Bocchi animum oratione accendit: "Romanos injustos, profunda avaritia, communes omnium hostes esse: eandem illos caussam belli cum Boccho habere, quam secum et cum aliis gentibus, lubidinem imperitandi; queis omnia regna adversa sint: tum sese, paullo ante Carthaginienses, item regem Persen, post uti quisque opulentissimus videatur, ita Romanis hostem fore." His atque aliis talibus dictis ad Cirtam oppidum iter constituunt, quod ibi Metellus praedam captivosque et impedimenta locaverat. Ita Jugurtha ratus, aut capta urbe operae pretium fore, aut si Romanus auxilio suis venisset, proelio sese certaturos. Nam callidus id modo festinabat, Bocchi pacem imminuere, ne moras agitando aliud quam bellum mallet.

LXXXII. Imperator postquam de regum societate cognovit, non temere, neque, uti saepe jam victo Jugurtha consueverat, omnibus locis pugnandi copiam facit; ceterum haud procul ab Cirta castris munitis

reges opperitur; melius ratus, cognitis Mauris, quoniam is novus hostis accesserat, ex commodo pugnam facere. Interim Romae per litteras certior fit provinciam Numidiam Mario datam: nam consulem factum ante acceperat. Queis rebus supra bonum atque honestum perculsus, neque lacrimas tenere, neque moderari linguam: vir egregius in aliis artibus nimis molliter aegritudinem pati. Quam rem alii in superbiam vertebant: alii bonum ingenium contumelia accensum esse; multi, quod jam parta victoria ex manibus eriperetur; nobis satis cognitum est, illum magis honore Marii quam injuria sua, excruciatum, neque tam anxie laturum fuisse, si adempta provincia alii quam Mario traderetur.

LXXXIII. Igitur eo dolore impeditus, et quia stultitiae videbatur alienam rem periculo suo curare, legatos ad Bocchum mittit postulatum: "ne sine caussa hostis populo Romano fieret; habere tum magnam copiam societatis amicitiaeque conjungendae, quae potior bello esset; quamquam opibus confideret, non debere incerta pro certis mutare; omne bellum sumi facile, ceterum aegerrime desinere; non in ejusdem potestate initium ejus et finem esse: incipere cuivis, etiam ignavo, licere; deponi, quum victores velint: proinde sibi regnoque consuleret, neu florentes res suas cum Jugurthae perditis misceret." Ad ea rex satis placide verba facit: "sese pacem cupere, sed Jugurthae fortunarum misereri; si eadem illi copia fieret, omnia conventura." Rursus imperator contra postulata Bocchi nuncios mittit: ille probare, partim abnuere. Eo modo saepe ab utroque missis remissisque nunciis tempus procedere, et ex Metelli voluntate, bellum intactum trahi.

LXXXIV. At Marius, ut supra diximus, cupientissima plebe consul factus, postquam ei provinciam Numidiam populus jussit, ante jam infestus nobilitati, tum vero multus atque ferox instare; singulos modo, modo universos laedere; dictitare "sese consulatum ex victis illis spolia cepisse;" alia praeterea magnifica pro se, et illis dolentia. Interim, quae bello opus erant, prima habere; postulare legionibus supplementum, auxilia a populis et regibus sociisque arcessere; praeterea ex Latio fortissimum quemque, plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos accire, et ambiendo cogere homines emeritis stipendiis secum proficisci. Neque illi senatus, quamquam adversus erat, de ullo negotio abnuere audebat; ceterum supplementum etiam laetus decreverat, quia neque plebi militia volenti putabatur, et Marius aut belli usum aut studia vulgi amissurus. Sed ea res frustra sperata; tanta lubido cum Mario eundi plerosque invaserat. Sese quisque praeda locupletem fore, victorem domum rediturum, alia hujuscemodi, animis trahebant: et eos non paullum oratione sua Marius arrexerat. Nam postquam, omnibus quae postulaverat decretis, milites scribere vult, hortandi caussa, simul et nobilitatem, uti consueverat, exagitandi, concionem populi advocavit. Deinde hoc modo disseruit.

LXXXV. "Scio ego, Quirites, plerosque non isdem artibus imperium a vobis petere et, postquam adepti sunt, gerere; primo industrios, supplices, modicos esse; deinde per ignaviam et superbiam aetatem agere. Sed mihi contra ea videtur; nam quo universa respublica pluris est quam consulatus aut praetura, eo majore cura illam administrari quam haec

peti debere. Neque me fallit, quantum cum maximo beneficio vestro negotii sustineam. Bellum parare simul, et aerario parcere; cogere ad militiam eos quos nolis offendere; domi forisque omnia curare; et ea agere inter invidos, occursantes, factiosos, opinione, Quirites, asperius est. Ad hoc alii si deliquere, vetus nobilitas, majorum fortia facta, cognatorum et affinium opes, multae clientelae, omnia haec praesidio adsunt: mihi spes omnes in memet sitae, quas necesse est et virtute et innocentia tutari: nam alia infirma sunt. Et illud intelligo, Quirites, omnium ora in me conversa esse; aequos bonosque favere: quippe bene facta mea reipublicae procedunt: nobilitatem locum invadendi quaerere. Quo mihi acrius annitendum est, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. Ita ad hoc aetatis a pueritia fui, ut omnes labores, pericula consueta habeam. Quae ante vestra beneficia gratuito faciebam, ea uti accepta mercede deseram, non est consilium, Quirites. Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare, qui per ambitionem sese probos simulavere; mihi, qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egi, bene facere jam ex consuetudine in naturam vertit. Bellum me gerere cum Jugurtha jussistis; quam rem nobilitas aegerrime tulit. Quaeso, reputate cum animis vestris, num id mutare melius sit, si quem ex illo globo nobilitatis ad hoc aut aliud tale negotium mittatis, hominem veteris prosapiae ac multarum imaginum et nullius stipendii: scilicet, ut in tanta re ignarus omnium trepidet, festinet, sumat aliquem ex populo monitorem officii sui. Ita plerumque evenit, ut quem vos imperare jussistis, is sibi imperatorem alium quaerat. Atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti

sunt, acta majorum, et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint; homines praeposteri. Nam gerere quam fieri tempore posterius, re atque usu prius est. Comparate nunc, Quirites, cum illorum superbia me hominem novum. Quae illi audire et legere solent, eorum partem vidi, alia egomet gessi; quae illi literis, ego militando didici. Nunc vos existimate, facta an dicta pluris sint. Contemnunt novitatem meam; ego illorum ignaviam: mihi fortuna, illis probra objectantur; quamquam ego naturam unam et communem omnium existimo, sed fortissimum quemque generosissimum. Ac si jam ex patribus Albini aut Bestiae quaeri posset, mene an illos ex se gigni maluerint, quid responsuros creditis, nisi sese liberos quam optimos voluisse? Quod si jure me despiciunt, faciant idem majoribus suis, quibus, uti mihi, ex virtute nobilitas coepit. Invident honori meo; ergo invideant labori, innocentiae, periculis etiam meis, quoniam per haec illum cepi. Verum homines corrupti superbia ita aetatem agunt, quasi vestros honores contemnant; ita hos petunt, quasi honeste vixerint. Nae illi falsi sunt, qui diversissimas res pariter exspectant, ignaviae voluptatem et praemia virtutis. Atque etiam quum apud vos aut in senatu verba faciunt, pleraque oratione majores suos extollunt; eorum fortia facta memorando clariores sese putant. Quod contra est: nam quanto vita illorum praeclarior, tanto horum secordia flagitiosior. Et profecto ita se res habet: majorum gloria posteris lumen est, neque bona neque mala in occulto patitur. Hujusce rei ego inopiam patior, Quirites; verum, id quod multo praeclarius est, meamet facta mihi dicere licet. Nunc videte,

quam iniqui sint. Quod ex aliena virtute sibi arrogant, id mihi ex mea non concedunt: scilicet, quia imagines non habeo, et quia mihi nova nobilitas est; quam certe peperisse melius est, quam acceptam corrupisse. Equidem ego non ignoro, si jam respondere velint, abunde illis facundam et compositam orationem fore. Sed in maximo vestro beneficio quum omnibus locis me vosque maledictis lacerent, non placuit reticere, ne quis modestiam in conscientiam duceret. Nam me quidem, ex animi mei sententia nulla oratio laedere potest: quippe vera necesse est bene praedicet; falsam vita moresque mei superant. Sed, quoniam vestra consilia accusantur, qui mihi summum honorem et maximum negotium imposuistis, etiam atque etiam reputate, num eorum poenitendum sit. Non possum fidei caussa imagines, neque triumphos aut consulatus majorum meorum ostentare; at, si res postulet, hastas, vexillum, phaleras, alia militaria dona; praeterea, cicatrices adverso corpore. Hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, non hereditate relicta, ut illa illis, sed quae ego plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi. Non sunt composita verba mea; parum id facio; ipsa se virtus satis ostendit: illis artificio opus est, uti turpia facta oratione tegant. Neque litteras Graecas didici: parum placebat eas discere, quippe quae ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt. At illa multo optima reipublicae doctus sum; hostem ferire, praesidia agitare; nihil metuere, nisi turpem famam; hiemem et aestatem juxta pati; humi requiescere; eodem tempore inopiam et laborem tolerare. His ego praeceptis milites hortabor: neque illos arcte colam, me opulenter; neque gloriam meam laborem illorum faciam.

Hoc est utile, hoc civile imperium. Namque, quum tute per mollitiem agas, exercitum supplicio cogere, id est, dominum, non imperatorem, esse. Haec atque talia majores vestri faciendo seque remque publicam celebravere: queis nobilitas freta, ipsa dissimilis moribus, nos illorum aemulos contemnit; et omnes honores non ex merito, sed quasi debitos a vobis repetit. Ceterum homines superbissimi procul errant. Majores eorum omnia, quae licebat, illis reliquere, divitias, imagines, memoriam sui praeclaram: virtutem non reliquere, neque poterant: ea sola neque datur dono, neque accipitur. Sordidum me et incultis moribus aiunt, quia parum scite convivium exorno, neque histrionem ullum, neque pluris pretii coquum quam villicum habeo; quae mihi lubet confiteri. Nam ex parente meo et ex aliis sanctis viris ita accepi, munditias mulieribus, viris laborem convenire, omnibusque bonis oportere plus gloriae, quam divitiarum esse; arma, non supellectilem decori esse. Quin ergo quod juvat, quod carum aestimant, id semper faciant; ament, potent; ubi adolescentiam habuere, ibi senectutem agant, in conviviis, dediti ventri et turpissimae parti corporis; sudorem, pulverem, et alia talia, relinquant nobis, quibus illa epulis jucundiora sunt. Verum non est ita. Nam ubi se flagitiis dedecoravere turpissimi viri, bonorum praemia ereptum eunt. Ita injustissime luxuria et ignavia, pessimae artes, illis, qui coluere eas, nihil officiunt; reipublicae innoxiae cladi sunt. Nunc, quoniam illis, quantum mores mei, non illorum flagitia poscebant, respondi, pauca de republica loquar. Primum omnium de Numidia bonum habetote animum, Quirites. Nam quae ad hoc tempus

Jugurtham tutata sunt, omnia removistis, avaritiam, imperitiam, superbiam. Deinde exercitus ibi est locorum sciens; sed mehercule magis strenuus quam felix. Nam magna pars ejus avaritia aut temeritate ducum attrita est. Quamobrem vos, quibus militaris est aetas, annitimini mecum et capessite rempublicam; neque quemquam ex calamitate aliorum aut imperatorum superbia metus ceperit. Egomet in agmine, in proelio, consultor idem et socius periculi vobiscum adero; meque vosque in omnibus rebus juxta geram. Et profecto dis juvantibus omnia matura sunt, victoria, praeda, laus; quae si dubia aut procul essent, tamen omnes bonos reipublicae subvenire decebat. Etenim ignavia nemo immortalis factus, neque quisquam parens liberis uti aeterni forent optavit; magis, uti boni honestique vitam exigerent. Plura dicerem, Quirites, si timidis virtutem verba adderent; nam strenuis abunde dictum puto."

LXXXVI. Hujuscemodi oratione habita Marius postquam plebis animos arrectos videt, propere commeatu, stipendio, armis, aliis utilibus naves onerat: cum his A. Manlium legatum proficisci jubet. Ipse interea milites scribere, non more majorum, neque ex classibus, sed uti cujusque lubido erat, capite censos plerosque. Id factum alii inopia bonorum, alii per ambitionem consulis, memorabant, quod ab eo genere celebratus auctusque erat; et homini potentiam quae- 7
renti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua curae, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur. Igitur Marius cum majore aliquanto numero, quam decretum erat, in Africam profectus diebus paucis Uticam advehitur. Exercitus

ei traditur a P. Rutilio legato; nam Metellus conspectum Marii fugerat, ne videret ea, quae audita animus tolerare nequiverat.

LXXXVII. Sed consul, expletis legionibus cohortibusque auxiliariis, in agrum fertilem et praeda onustum proficiscitur: omnia ibi capta militibus donat; dein castella et oppida natura et viris parum munita aggreditur: proelia multa, ceterum levia, alia aliis locis facere. Interim novi milites sine metu pugnae adesse; videre fugientes capi, occidi; fortissimum quemque tutissimum; armis libertatem, patriam, parentesque et alia omnia tegi; gloriam atque divitias quaeri. Sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta. At reges, ubi de adventu Marii cognoverunt, diversi in locos difficiles abeunt. Ita Jugurthae placuerat, speranti mox effusos hostes invadi posse; Romanos, sicuti plerosque, remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros.

LXXXVIII. Metellus interea Romam profectus contra spem suam laetissimis animis excipitur; plebi patribusque, postquam invidia decesserat, juxta carus. Sed Marius impigre prudenterque suorum et hostium res pariter attendere; cognoscere quid boni utrisque, aut contra, esset; explorare itinera regum, consilia et insidias antevenire; nihil apud se remissum, neque apud illos tutum pati. Itaque et Gaetulos et Jugurtham, ex sociis nostris praedam agentes, saepe aggressus in itinere fuderat, ipsumque regem haud procul ab oppido Cirta armis exuerat. Quae postquam gloriosa modo, neque belli patrandi, cognovit, statuit urbes, quae viris aut loco pro hostibus et adversum se opportunissimae erant, singulas circumvenire: ita

Jugurtham aut praesidiis nudatum, si ea pateretur, aut proelio certaturum. Nam Bocchus nuncios ad eum saepe miserat, "velle populi Romani amicitiam, ne quid ab se hostile timeret." Id simulaveritne, quo improvisus gravior accideret, an mobilitate ingenii pacem atque bellum mutare solitus, parum exploratum est.

LXXXIX. Sed consul, uti statuerat, oppida castellaque munita adire; partim vi, alia metu aut praemia ostentando avertere ab hostibus. Ac primo mediocria gerebat, existimans Jugurtham ob suos tutandos in manus venturum. Sed ubi illum procul abesse et aliis negotiis intentum accepit, majora et magis aspera aggredi tempus visum est. Erat inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum atque valens, nomine Capsa, cujus conditor Hercules Libys memorabatur. Ejus cives apud Jugurtham immunes, levi imperio, et ob ea fidelissimi habebantur, muniti adversum hostes non moenibus modo et armis atque viris, verum etiam multo magis locorum asperitate. Nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus; quarum vis, sicuti omnium ferarum, inopia cibi acrior; ad hoc natura serpentium, ipsa perniciosa, siti magis quam alia re accenditur. Ejus potiendi Marium maxima cupido invaserat, quum propter usum belli, tum quia res aspera videbatur; et Metellus oppidum Thalam magna gloria ceperat, haud dissimiliter situm munitumque, nisi quod apud Thalam haud longe a moenibus aliquot fontes erant, Capsenses una modo, atque ea intra oppidum, jugi aqua, cetera pluvia utebantur. Id ibique et in omni Africa, quae procul a mari incultius agebat, eo facilius tolerabatur, quia Numidae plerumque lacte et ferina

carne vescebantur, neque salem neque alia irritamenta gulae quaerebant; cibus illis adversum famem atque sitim, non lubidini neque luxuriae erat.

XC. Igitur consul, omnibus exploratis, credo dis fretus (nam contra tantas difficultates consilio satis providere non poterat; quippe etiam frumenti inopia tentabatur, quod Numidae pabulo pecoris magis quam arvo student, et, quodcumque natum fuerat jussu regis in loca munita contulerant, ager autem aridus et frugum vacuus ea tempestate, nam aestatis extremum erat); tamen pro rei copia satis providenter exornat; pecus omne, quod superioribus diebus praedae fuerat, equitibus auxiliariis agendum attribuit, A. Manlium legatum cum cohortibus expeditis ad oppidum Laris, ubi stipendium et commeatum locaverat, ire jubet; se praedabundum post paucos dies eodem venturum. Sic incepto suo occultato pergit ad flumen Tanam.

XCI. Ceterum in itinere quotidie pecus exercitui per centurias, item turmas aequaliter distribuerat, et ex coriis utres uti fierent curabat; simul et inopiam frumenti lenire, et ignaris omnibus, parare, quae mox usui forent. Denique sexto die, quum ad flumen ventum est, maxima vis utrium effecta. Ibi castris levi munimento positis, milites cibum capere, atque uti simul cum occasu solis egrederentur, paratos esse jubet omnibus sarcinis abjectis, aqua modo seque et jumenta onerare. Dein, postquam tempus visum, castris egreditur, noctemque totam itinere facto consedit: idem proxima facit: dein tertia multo ante lucis adventum pervenit in locum tumulosum, ab Capsa non amplius duum millium intervallo; ibique

quam occultissime potest cum omnibus copiis opperitur. Sed ubi dies coepit, et Numidae, nihil hostile metuentes, multi oppido egressi, repente omnem equitatum, et cum his velocissimos pedites cursu tendere ad Capsam et portas obsidere, jubet; deinde ipse intentus propere sequi, neque milites praedari sinere. Quae postquam oppidani cognovere, res trepidae, metus ingens, malum improvisum, ad hoc pars civium extra moenia in hostium potestate, coëgere, uti deditionem facerent. Ceterum oppidum incensum; Numidae puberes interfecti; alii omnes venum dati; praeda militibus divisa. Id facinus contra jus belli non avaritia neque scelere consulis admissum; sed quia locus Jugurthae opportunus, nobis aditu difficilis, genus hominum mobile, infidum, neque beneficio neque metu coërcitum.

XCII. Postquam tantam rem Marius sine ullo suorum incommodo patravit, magnus et clarus antea, major et clarior haberi coepit. Omnia, non bene consulta modo, verum etiam casu data in virtutem trahebantur; milites, modesto imperio habiti simul et locupletes, ad caelum ferre; Numidae magis quam mortalem timere; postremo omnes, socii atque hostes, credere, illi aut mentem divinam esse, aut deorum nutu cuncta portendi. Sed consul, ubi ea res bene evenit, ad alia oppida pergit, pauca repugnantibus Numidis capit, plura, deserta propter Capsensium miserias, igni corrumpit: luctu atque caede omnia complentur. Denique multis locis potitus, ac plerisque exercitu incruento, aliam rem aggreditur, non eadem asperitate, qua Capsensium, ceterum haud secus difficilem. Namque haud longe a flumine Mulucha,

quod Jugurthae Bocchique regnum disjungebat, erat inter ceteram planitiem mons saxeus, mediocri castello satis patens, in immensum editus, uno perangusto aditu relicto: nam omnis natura, velut opere atque consulto, praeceps. Quem locum Marius, quod ibi regis thesauri erant, summa vi capere intendit. Sed ea res forte, quam consilio melius gesta. Nam castello virorum atque armorum satis, magna vis frumenti et fons aquae, aggeribus turribusque et aliis machinationibus locus importunus, iter castellanorum angustum admodum, utrimque praecisum. Vineae cum ingenti periculo frustra agitabantur: nam quum eae paullum processerant, igni aut lapidibus corrumpebantur; milites neque pro opere consistere, propter iniquitatem loci, neque inter vineas sine periculo administrare; optimus quisque cadere, aut sauciari; ceteris metus augeri.

XCIII. At Marius, multis diebus et laboribus consumtis, anxius trahere cum animo suo omitteretne inceptum, quoniam frustra erat, an fortunam opperiretur, qua saepe prospere usus fuerat. Quae quum multos dies noctesque aestuans agitaret, forte quidam Ligus ex cohortibus auxiliariis miles gregarius, castris aquatum egressus, haud procul ab latere castelli, quod aversum proeliantibus erat, animum advertit inter saxa repentes cochleas: quarum quum unam atque alteram, dein plures peteret, studio legendi paullatim prope ad summum montis egressus est. Ubi postquam solitudinem intellexit, more humani ingenii cupido difficilia faciendi animum vertit. Et forte in eo loco grandis ilex coaluerat inter saxa, paullum modo prona, deinde flexa atque aucta in

altitudinem, quo cuncta gignentium natura fert; cujus ramis modo, modo eminentibus saxis nisus Ligus castelli planitiem perscribit; quod cuncti Numidae intenti proeliantibus aderant. Exploratis omnibus, quae mox usui fore ducebat, eadem regreditur, non temere, uti escenderat, sed tentans omnia et circumspiciens. Itaque Marium propere adit, acta edocet, hortatur, ab ea parte, qua ipse escenderat, castellum tenet; pollicetur sese itineris periculique ducem. Marius cum Ligure, promissa ejus cognitum, ex praesentibus misit; quorum uti cujusque ingenium erat, ita rem difficilem aut facilem nunciavere. Consulis animus tamen paullum arrectus. Itaque ex copia tubicinum et cornicinum numero quinque quam velocissimos delegit, et cum his, praesidio qui forent, quatuor centuriones, omnesque Liguri parere jubet, et ei negotio proximum diem constituit.

XCIV. Sed ubi ex praecepto tempus visum, paratis compositisque omnibus ad locum pergit. Ceterum illi, qui ascensuri erant, praedocti ab duce, arma ornatumque mutaverant, capite atque pedibus nudis, uti prospectus nisusque per saxa facilius foret; super terga gladii et scuta, verum ea Numidica ex coriis, ponderis gratia simul, et offensa quo levius streperent. Igitur praegrediens Ligus saxa et si quae vetustate radices eminebant laqueis vinciebat, quibus allevati facilius escenderent; interdum timidos insolentia itineris levare manu, ubi paullo asperior ascensus, singulos prae se inermes mittere; deinde ipse cum illorum armis sequi, quae dubia nisu videbantur, potissimus tentare, ac saepius eadem ascendens descendensque, dein statim digrediens, ceteris audaciam

addere. Igitur diu multumque fatigati tandem in castellum perveniunt, desertum ab ea parte, quod omnes, sicuti aliis diebus, adversum hostes aderant. Marius, ubi ex nunciis quae Ligus egerat cognovit, quamquam toto die intentos proelio Numidas habuerat, tum vero cohortatus milites et ipse extra vineas egressus, testudine acta succedere, et simul hostem tormentis sagittariisque et funditoribus eminus terrere. At Numidae saepe antea vineis Romanorum subversis, item incensis, non castelli moenibus sese tutabantur, sed pro muro dies noctesque agitare; maledicere Romanis, ac Mario vecordiam objectare; militibus nostris Jugurthae servitium minari; secundis rebus feroces esse. Interim omnibus, Romanis hostibusque, proelio intentis, magna utrimque vi pro gloria atque imperio his, illis pro salute certantibus, repente a tergo signa canere; ac primo mulieres et pueri, qui visum processerant, fugere; deinde uti quisque muro proximus erat, postremo cuncti, armati inermesque. Quod ubi accidit, eo acrius Romani instare, fundere ac plerosque tantummodo sauciare, dein super occisorum corpora vadere, avidi gloriae, certantes murum petere, neque quemquam omnium praeda morari. Sic forte correcta Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

XCV. Ceterum dum ea res geritur, L. Sulla quaestor cum magno equitatu in castra venit; quos uti ex Latio et a sociis cogeret Romae relictus erat. Sed, quoniam tanti viri res admonuit, idoneum visum est, de natura cultuque ejus paucis dicere; neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus; et L. Sisenna, optime et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere

persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur. Igitur Sulla gentis patriciae nobilis fuit, familia prope jam exstincta majorum ignavia; litteris Graecis atque Latinis juxta atque doctissime eruditus, animo ingenti, cupidus voluptatum, sed gloriae cupidior, otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis numquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli; facundus, callidus, et amicitia facilis; ad simulanda negotia altitudo ingenii incredibilis; multarum rerum ac maxime pecuniae largitor. Atque illi, felicissimo omnium ante civilem victoriam, numquam super industriam fortuna fuit; multique dubitavere, fortior an felicior esset: nam postea quae fecerit incertum habeo pudeat magis an pigeat disserere.

XCVI. Igitur Sulla, ut supra dictum est, postquam in Africam atque in castra Marii cum equitatu venit, rudis antea et ignarus belli, sollertissimus omnium in paucis tempestatibus factus est. Ad hoc milites benigne appellare; multis rogantibus, aliis per se ipse dare beneficia, invitus accipere, sed ea properantius quam aes mutuum reddere; ipse ab nullo repetere, magis id laborare ut illi quam plurimi deberent; joca atque seria cum humillimis agere; in operibus, in agmine, atque ad vigilias multus adesse, neque interim, quod prava ambitio solet, consulis, aut cujusquam boni, famam laedere; tantummodo neque consilio neque manu priorem alium pati; plerosque antevenire. Queis rebus et artibus brevi Mario militibusque carissimus factus.

XCVII. At Jugurtha, postquam oppidum Capsam aliosque locos munitos et sibi utiles, simul et magnam pecuniam amiserat, ad Bocchum nuncios

mittit, "quam primum in Numidiam copias adduceret; proelii faciendi tempus adesse." Quem ubi cunctari accepit et dubium belli atque pacis rationes trahere, rursus, uti antea, proximos ejus donis corrumpit, ipsique Mauro pollicetur Numidiae partem tertiam, si aut Romani Africa expulsi, aut integris suis finibus bellum compositum foret. Eo praemio illectus Bocchus cum magna multitudine Jugurtham accedit. Ita amborum exercitu conjuncto Marium, jam in hiberna proficiscentem, vix decima parte die reliqua, invadunt, rati noctem, quae jam aderat, et victis sibi munimento fore, et si vicissent nullo impedimento, quia locorum scientes erant; contra Romanis utrumque casum in tenebris difficiliorem fore. Igitur simul consul ex multis de hostium adventu cognovit, et ipsi hostes aderant; et, priusquam exercitus aut instrui, aut sarcinas colligere, denique antequam signum aut imperium ullum accipere quivit, equites Mauri atque Gaetuli, non acie neque ullo more proelii, sed catervatim, uti quosque fors conglobaverat, in nostros concurrunt; qui omnes trepidi improviso metu, ac tamen virtutis memores, aut arma capiebant, aut capientes alios ab hostibus defensabant; pars equos escendere, obviam ire hostibus; pugna latrocinio magis quam proelio similis fieri; sine signis, sine ordinibus, equites pedites permixti caedere alios, alios obtruncare, multos, contra adversos acerrime pugnantes, ab tergo circumvenire; neque virtus neque arma satis tegere, quod hostes numero plures et undique circumfusi; denique Romani veteres [novique], et ob ea scientes belli, si quos locus aut casus conjunxerat,

orbes facere; atque ita ab omnibus partibus simul tecti et instructi hostium vim sustentabant.

XCVIII. Neque in eo tam aspero negotio territus Marius aut magis, quam antea, demisso animo fuit, sed cum turma sua, quam ex fortissimis magis quam familiarissimis paraverat, vagari passim, ac modo laborantibus suis succurrere, modo hostes, ubi confertissimi obstiterant, invadere; manu consulere militibus, quoniam imperare conturbatis omnibus non poterat. Jamque dies consumptus erat, quum tamen barbari nihil remittere, atque, uti reges praeceperant, noctem pro se rati, acrius instare. Tum Marius ex copia rerum consilium trahit, atque, uti suis receptui locus esset, colles duos propinquos inter se occupat; quorum in uno, castris parum amplo, fons aquae magnus erat, alter usui opportunus, quia magna parte editus et praeceps pauca munimenta quaerebat. Ceterum apud aquam Sullam cum equitibus noctem agitare jubet; ipse paullatim dispersos milites, neque minus hostibus conturbatis, in unum contrahit; dein cunctos pleno gradu in collem subducit. Ita reges loci difficultate coacti, proelio deterrentur; neque tamen suos longius abire sinunt, sed utroque colle multitudine circumdato effusi consedere. Dein crebris ignibus factis plerumque noctis barbari suo moro laetari, exsultare, strepere vocibus, et ipsi duces feroces, quia non fugerent, pro victoribus agere. Sed ea cuncta Romanis ex tenebris et editioribus locis facilia visu magnoque hortamento erant.

XCIX. Plurimum vero Marius imperitia hostium confirmatus quam maximum silentium haberi jubet; ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias solebant, canere.

Deinde, ubi lux adventabat, defessis jam hostibus et paullo ante somno captis, de improviso vigiles, item cohortium, turmarum, legionum tubicines simul omnes signa canere, milites clamorem tollere atque portis erumpere. Mauri atque Gaetuli, ignoto et horribili sonitu repente exciti, neque fugere, neque arma capere, neque omnino facere aut providere quidquam poterant; ita cunctos, strepitu, clamore, nullo subveniente, nostris instantibus, tumultu, terrore formido quasi vecordia, ceperat. Denique omnes fusi fugatique, arma et signa militaria pleraque capta, pluresque eo proelio, quam omnibus superioribus, interemti; nam somno et metu insolito impedita fuga.

C. Dein Marius, uti coeperat, in hiberna proficiscitur; quae propter commeatum in oppidis maritimis agere decreverat; neque tamen victoriā secors aut insolens factus; sed pariter atque in conspectu hostium quadrato agmine incedere. Sulla cum equitatu apud dextimos, in sinistra A. Manlius cum funditoribus et sagittariis, praeterea cohortes Ligurum curabat; primos et extremos cum expeditis manipulis tribunos locaverat. Perfugae, minime cari et regionum scientissimi, hostium iter explorabant: simul consul, quasi nullo imposito, omnia providere; apud omnes adesse; laudare, increpare merentes. Ipse armatus intentusque, item milites cogebat; neque secus, atque iter facere, castra munire, excubitum in portas cohortes ex legionibus, pro castris equites auxiliarios mittere; praeterea alios super vallum in munimentis locare, vigilias ipse circumire, non tam diffidentiā futurum, quae imperavisset, quam uti militibus exaequatus cum imperatore labos volentibus esset. Et sane Marius

illo et aliis temporibus Jugurthini belli pudore magis quam malo exercitum coercebat; quod multi per ambitionem fieri aiebant, pars, quod a pueritia consuetam duritiam et alia, quae ceteri miserias vocant, voluptati habuisset: nisi tamen res publica, pariter ac saevissimo imperio, bene atque decore gesta.

CI. Igitur quarto denique die haud longe ab oppido Cirta undique simul speculatores citi sese ostendunt, qua re hostes adesse intelligitur. Sed quia diversi redeuntes, alius ab alia parte atque omnes idem significabant, consul incertus, quonam modo aciem instrueret, nullo ordine commutato, adversum omnia paratus ibidem opperitur. Ita Jugurtham spes frustrata, qui copias in quatuor partes distribuerat, ratus ex omnibus aeque aliquos ab tergo hostibus venturos. Interim Sulla, quem primum hostes attigerant, cohortatus suos, turmatim et quam maxime confertis equis ipse aliique Mauros invadunt, ceteri in loco manentes ab jaculis eminus emissis corpora tegere, et si qui in manus venerant obtruncare. Dum eo modo equites proeliantur, Bocchus cum peditibus, quos Volux filius ejus adduxerat, neque in priore pugna, in itinere morati, affuerant, postremam Romanorum aciem invadunt. Tum Marius apud primos agebat, quod ibi Jugurtha cum plurimis erat. Dein Numida, cognito Bocchi adventu, clam cum paucis ad pedites convertit; ibi Latine (nam apud Numantiam loqui didicerat) exclamat: "nostros frustra pugnare; paullo ante Marium sua manu interfectum;" simul gladium sanguine oblitum ostendere, quem in pugna satis impigre occiso pedite nostro cruentaverat. Quod ubi milites accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuncii

terrentur: simulque barbari animos tollere, et in perculsos Romanos acrius incedere. Jamque paullum ab fuga aberant, quum Sulla, profligatis iis, quos adversum ierat, Mauris ab latere incurrit. Bocchus statim avertitur. At Jugurtha, dum sustentare suos et prope jam adeptam victoriam retinere cupit, circumventus ab equitibus, dextra, sinistra omnibus occisis, solus inter tela hostium vitabundus erumpit. Atque interim Marius fugatis equitibus occurrit auxilio suis, quos pelli jam acceperat. Denique hostes undique fusi. Tum spectaculum horribile in campis patentibus; sequi, fugere, occidi, capi; equi, viri afflicti, ac multi vulneribus acceptis neque fugere posse, neque quietem pati; niti modo, ac statim concidere: postremo omnia, qua visus erat, constrata telis, armis, cadaveribus, et inter ea humus infecta sanguine.

CII. Postea loci consul haud dubie jam victor pervenit in oppidum Cirtam, quo initio profectus intenderat. Eo post diem quintum, quam iterum barbari male pugnaverant, legati a Boccho veniunt, qui regis verbis ab Mario petivere, "duo quam fidissimos ad eum mitteret: velle de suo et de populi Romani commodo cum iis disserere." Ille statim L. Sullam et A. Manlium ire jubet. Qui quamquam acciti ibant, tamen placuit verba apud regem facere, uti ingenium aut aversum flecterent, aut cupidum pacis vehementius accenderent. Itaque Sulla, cujus facundiae, non aetati, a Manlio concessum, pauca verba hujuscemodi locutus: "Rex Bocche, magna nobis laetitia est, quum te talem virum di monuere, uti aliquando pacem quam bellum malles, neu te optimum cum pessimo omnium Jugurtha miscendo commaculares; simul nobis de-

meres acerbam necessitudinem, pariter te errantem et illum sceleratissimum persequi. Ad hoc populo Romano jam a principio [inopi] melius visum, amicos quam servos quaerere; tutiusque rati volentibus quam coactis imperitare. Tibi vero nulla opportunior nostrā amicitiā; primum, quod procul absumus, in quo offensae minimum, gratia par ac si prope adessemus; dein, quod parentes abunde habemus, amicorum neque nobis neque cuiquam omnium satis. Atque hoc utinam a principio tibi placuisset! profecto ex populo Romano ad hoc tempus multo plura bona accepisses, quam mala perpessus es. Sed, quoniam humanarum rerum Fortuna pleraque regit, cui scilicet placuisse te et vim et gratiam nostram experiri, nunc, quando per illam licet, festina atque ut coepisti perge. Multa atque opportuna habes, quo facilius errata officiis superes. Postremo hoc in pectus tuum demitte, numquam populum Romanum beneficiis victum: nam, bello quid valeat, tute scis." Ad ea Bocchus placide et benigne; simul pauca pro delicto suo verba facit: "se non hostili animo, sed ob regnum tutandum, arma cepisse: nam Numidiae partem, unde vi Jugurtham expulerit, jure belli suam factam, eam vastari ab Mario pati nequivisse; praeterea, missis antea Romam legatis, repulsum ab amicitia. Ceterum vetera omittere, ac tum, si per Marium liceret, legatos ad senatum missurum." Dein, copia facta, animus barbari ab amicis flexus, quos Jugurtha, cognita legatione Sullae et Manlii, metuens id quod parabatur, donis corruperat.

CIII. Marius interea, exercitu in hibernis composito, cum expeditis cohortibus et parte equitatus

proficiscitur in loca sola, obsessum turrim regiam, quo Jugurtha perfugas omnes praesidium imposuerat. Tum rursus Bocchus, seu reputando, quae sibi duobus proeliis venerant, seu admonitus ab amicis, quos incorruptos Jugurtha reliquerat, ex omni copia necessariorum quinque deligit, quorum et fides cognita, et ingenia validissima erant. Eos ad Marium, ac dein, si placeat, Romam, legatos ire jubet; agendarum rerum, et quocumque modo belli componendi, licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur: deinde, in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore ad Sullam perfugiunt, quem consul in expeditionem proficiscens pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; qua re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam, et Sullam ob munificentiam in sese amicum rati. Nam etiam tum largitio multis ignara, munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens, dona omnia in benignitate habebantur. Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt, uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui, et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt; dein, Sullā omnia pollicito, docti, quo modo apud Marium, item apud senatum, verba facerent, circiter dies XL. ibidem opperiuntur.

CIV. Marius postquam, confecto, quo intenderat, negotio, Cirtam redit, de adventu legatorum certior factus, illosque et Sullam ab Utica venire jubet, item L. Bellienum praetorem, praeterea omnes undique senatorii ordinis, quibuscum mandata Bocchi cognoscit. Legatis potestas eundi Romam fit ab con-

sule: interea induciae postulabantur. Ea Sullae et plerisque placuere: pauci ferocius decernunt, scilicet ignari humanarum rerum, quae fluxae et mobiles semper in adversa mutantur. Ceterum Mauri, impetratis omnibus rebus, tres Romam profecti cum Cn. Octavio Rufo, qui quaestor stipendium in Africam portaverat; duo ad regem redeunt. Ex his Bocchus, quum cetera, tum maxime benignitatem et studium Sullae, lubens accepit. Romae legatis ejus, postquam errasse regem et Jugurthae scelere lapsum deprecati sunt, amicitiam et foedus petentibus hoc modo respondetur: "Senatus et populus Romanus beneficii et injuriae memor esse solet: ceterum Boccho, quoniam poenitet, delicti gratiam facit: foedus et amicitia dabuntur, cum meruerit."

CV. Queis rebus cognitis Bocchus per litteras a Mario petivit, uti Sullam ad se mitteret; cujus arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque peditum, item funditorum Balearium; praeterea sagittarii, et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi caussa, neque his secus atque aliis armis adversum tela hostium, quod ea levia sunt, muniti. Sed in itinere, quinto denique die, Volux filius Bocchi repente in campis patentibus cum mille non amplius equitibus sese ostendit; qui temere et effuse euntes Sullae aliisque omnibus et numerum ampliorum vero et hostilem metum efficiebant. Igitur sese quisque expedire, arma atque tela tentare, intendere: timor aliquantus sed spes amplior, quippe victoribus, et adversum eos, quos saepe vicerant. Interim equites, exploratum praemissi, rem, uti erat, quietam nunciant.

CVI. Volux adveniens quaestorem appellat dicitque se a patre Boccho obviam illis simul, et praesidio, missum. Deinde eum et proximum diem sine metu conjuncti eunt. Post ubi castra locata et diei vesper erat, repente Maurus incerto vultu ad Sullam accurrit dicitque sibi ex speculatoribus cognitum, Jugurtham haud procul abesse; simul uti noctu clam secum profugeret rogat atque hortatur. Ille animo feroci negat "se toties fusum Numidam pertimescere; virtuti suorum satis credere; etiam si certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quam proditis quos ducebat turpi fuga incertae ac forsitan post paullo morbo interiturae vitae parceret." Ceterum ab eodem monitus uti noctu proficiscerentur, consilium approbat, ac statim milites coenatos esse, in castris ignes quam creberrimos fieri, dein prima vigilia silentio egredi jubet. Jamque nocturno itinere fessis omnibus Sulla pariter cum ortu solis castra metabatur, quum equites Mauri nunciant Jugurtham circiter duum millium intervallo ante eos consedisse. Quod postquam auditum est, tum vero ingens metus nostros invadit: credere se proditos a Voluce, et insidiis circumventos. Ac fuere, qui dicerent manu vindicandum, neque apud illum tantum scelus inultum relinquendum.

CVII. At Sulla, quamquam eadem existimabat, tamen ab injuria Maurum prohibet: suos hortatur, "uti fortem animum gererent: saepe antea paucis strenuis adversum multitudinem bene pugnatum: quanto sibi in proelio minus pepercissent, tanto tutiores fore: nec quemquam decere, qui manus armaverit, ab inermis pedibus auxilium petere, in maximo metu nudum et caecum corpus ad hostes vertere." Deinde

Volucem, quoniam hostilia faceret, Jovem Maximum obtestatus, ut sceleris atque perfidiae Bocchi testis adesset, ex castris abire jubet. Ille lacrimans orare, "ne ea crederet: nihil dolo factum, ac magis calliditate Jugurthae, cui, videlicet speculanti, iter suum cognitum esset. Ceterum, quoniam neque ingentem multitudinem haberet, et spes opesque ejus ex patre suo penderent, credere, illum nihil palam ausurum, quum ipse filius testis adesset: quare optimum factum videri, per media ejus castra palam transire: sese, vel praemissis vel ibidem relictis Mauris, solum cum Sulla iturum." Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata; ac statim profecti, quia de improviso acciderant, dubio atque haesitante Jugurtha, incolumes transeunt. Deinde paucis diebus, quo ire intenderant, perventum.

CVIII. Ibi cum Boccho Numida quidam, Aspar nomine, multum et familiariter agebat, praemissus ab Jugurtha, postquam Sullam accitum audierat, orator, et subdole speculatum Bocchi consilia; praeterea Dabar, Massugradae filius, ex gente Masinissae, ceterum materno genere impar (nam pater ejus ex concubina ortus erat), Mauro ob ingenii multa bona carus acceptusque; quem Bocchus, fidum esse Romanis multis antea tempestatibus expertus, illico ad Sullam nunciatum mittit, "paratum sese facere, quae populus Romanus vellet: colloquio diem, locum, tempus, ipse deligeret: consulta sese omnia cum illo integra habere: neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret quo res communis licentius gereretur; nam ab insidiis ejus aliter caveri nequivisse." Sed ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide, quam ob ea quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe pacis attinuisse, multumque

cum animo suo volvere solitum, Jugurtham Romanis, an illi Sullam, traderet; lubidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

CIX. Igitur Sulla respondit, "pauca se coram Aspare locuturum; cetera occulte, aut nullo, aut quam paucissimis praesentibus;" simul edocet, quae sibi responderentur. Postquam sicuti voluerat congressi, dicit, "se missum a consule venisse quaesitum ab eo, pacem an bellum agitaturus foret." Tum rex, uti praeceptum fuerat, post diem decimum redire jubet; ac, nihil etiam nunc decrevisse, sed illo die responsurum. Deinde ambo in sua castra digressi. Sed ubi plerumque noctis processit Sulla a Boccho occulte accersitur; ab utroque tantummodo fidi interpretes adhibentur; praeterea Dabar internuncius, sanctus vir, et ex sententia ambobus. Ac statim sic rex incipit:

CX. "Numquam ego ratus sum fore, uti rex maximus in hac terra et omnium, quos novi, privato homini gratiam deberem. Et mehercule, Sulla, ante te cognitum, multis orantibus, aliis ultro egomet opem tuli, nullius indigui. Id imminutum, quod ceteri dolere solent, ego laetor; fuerit mihi [pretium] eguisse aliquando amicitiae tuae, qua apud animum meum nihil carius habeo. Id adeo experiri licet: arma, viros, pecuniam, postremo quidquid animo lubet, sume, utere; et, quoad vives, numquam tibi redditam gratiam putaveris; semper apud me integra erit: denique nihil, me sciente, frustra voles. Nam, ut ego aestimo, regem armis quam munificentia vinci minus flagitiosum. Ceterum de re publica vestra, cujus curator huc missus es, paucis accipe. Bellum ego populo Romano neque feci, neque factum umquam volui; fines meos adver-

sum armatos armis tutatus sum. Id omitto, quando vobis ita placet; gerite, uti vultis, cum Jugurtha bellum. Ego flumen Mulucham, quod inter me et Micipsam fuit, non egrediar, neque Jugurtham id intrare sinam. Praeterea, si quid meque vobisque dignum petiveris, haud repulsus abibis."

CXI. Ad ea Sulla pro se breviter et modice; de pace et de communibus multis disseruit. Denique regi patefecit, "quod polliceatur, senatum et populum Romanum, quoniam amplius armis valuissent, non in gratiam habituros: faciendum aliquid, quod illorum magis quam suā retulisse videretur; id adeo in promptu esse, quoniam Jugurthae copiam haberet; quem si Romanis tradidisset, fore, uti illi plurimum deberetur, amicitiam, foedus, Numidiae partem, quam nunc peteret, tunc ultro adventuram." Rex primo negitare: "adfinitatem, cognationem, praeterea foedus intervenisse; ad hoc metuere, ne fluxa fide usus, popularium animos averteret, queis et Jugurtha carus, et Romani invisi erant." Denique, saepius fatigatus, lenitur, et ex voluntate Sullae omnia se facturum promittit. Ceterum ad simulandam pacem, cujus Numida, defessus bello, avidissimus, quae utilia visa, constituunt. Ita composito dolo digrediuntur.

CXII. At rex postero die Asparem, Jugurthae legatum, appellat, dicitque "sibi per Dabarem ex Sulla cognitum, posse condicionibus bellum poni; quamobrem regis sui sententiam exquireret." Ille laetus in castra Jugurthae venit. Deinde, ab illo cuncta edoctus, properato itinere post diem octavum redit ad Bocchum, et ei nunciat "Jugurtham cupere omnia, quae imperarentur, facere; sed Mario parum fidere: saepe

antea cum imperatoribus Romanis pacem conventam frustra fuisse. Ceterum si ambobus consultum et ratam pacem vellet, daret operam, ut una ab omnibus quasi de pace in colloquium veniretur, ibique sibi Sullam traderet; quum talem virum in potestate haberet, tum fore, uti jussu senatus atque populi Romani foedus fieret: neque hominem nobilem, non sua ignavia sed ob rempublicam, in hostium potestate relictum iri."

CXIII. Haec Maurus secum ipse diu volvens tandem promisit; ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus, parum comperimus. Sed plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes, sic mobiles, saepe ipsae sibi adversae. Postea tempore et loco constituto, in colloquium uti de pace veniretur, Bocchus Sullam modo, modo Jugurthae legatum appellare, benigne habere, idem ambobus polliceri. Illi pariter laeti, ac spei bonae pleni. Sed nocte ea, quae proxima fuit ante diem colloquio decretum, Maurus adhibitis amicis, ac statim, immutata voluntate, remotis, dicitur secum ipse multa agitavisse, vultu corporis pariter atque animo varius; quae scilicet, tacente ipso, occulta pectoris patefecisse. Tamen postremo Sullam accersiri jubet, et ex ejus sententia Numidae insidias tendit. Deinde, ubi dies advenit, et ei nunciatum est, Jugurtham haud procul abesse, cum paucis amicis et quaestore nostro, quasi obvius honoris caussa procedit in tumulum facillimum visu insidiantibus. Eodem Numida cum plerisque necessariis suis inermis, uti dictum erat, accedit; ac statim signo dato undique simul ex insidiis invaditur. Ceteri obtruncati: Ju-

gurtha Sullae vinctus traditur, et ab eo ad Marium deductus est.

CXIV. Per idem tempus adversum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et M. Manlio male pugnatum; quo metu Italia omnis contremuerat. Illique et inde ad nostram memoriam Romani sic habuere, alia omnia virtuti suae prona esse; cum Gallis pro salute, non pro gloria certare. Sed postquam bellum in Numidia confectum, et Jugurtham vinctum adduci Romam, nunciatum est, Marius consul absens factus, et ei decreta provincia Gallia; isque Kalendis Januariis magna gloria consul triumphavit. Ea tempestate spes atque opes civitatis in illo sitae.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

1. **Falso queritur de natura sua**] It deserves to be remarked, as a proof of the nicety of ear cultivated by the Romans, that Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* ix. 4. 77) complains of the first clause of this sentence as being ἔνρυθμος, rhythmical. He has been pointing out some instances of metrical clauses occurring in prose composition, and goes on to say, nec minore autem cura vitandum est quicquid ἔνρυθμον quale est apud Sallustium, *falso queritur de natura sua.* Such nice perceptions had been lost in the time of the grammarian Diomedes. He observes, Sallustium quoque dicunt principio Jugurthae a rhythmo coepisse. Verum hoc totum genus reprehensionis ejusmodi est, ut si calumniatores istos audiamus sit conticescendum; quia nulla non pars orationis in aliquam rhythmi aut metri speciem potest figurari. Putsch. *Gramm. Latin.* 464.

2. **Contra**] i. q. *e contrario, ex altera parte*, "on the contrary."

3. **Reputando...invenies**] "You will discover upon reflection."

4. **Sed dux**] Haec Stoicorum magniloquentiam sapiunt. Gerlach. Comp. Apuleius, *Apolog.* p. 486, regalis animi pars, ratione pollens, verticem hominis velut arcem et regiam insedit." *dux atque imperator*, "leader and ruler." The two words should be distinguished, but *dux* is often used for *imperator* in poetry for the sake of metre. Stat. *Sylv.* iii. 3. 52, Hanc (Romam) ducibus fraenare datum.

5. **Grassatur**] *Grassor*, frequent. from *gradior*, signifies 1. idling, lounging, hanging on or about; hence 2. applied to flatterers and parasites who fawn upon the great (*grassari* antiqui ponebant pro *adulari*. Festus), to ruffians and footpads, who infest the highways; and 3. to undertaking, setting about any enterprise, in a good or bad sense, especially with zeal and resolution. The verb is generally intransitive, sometimes followed by *in* or *ad*: in poetical language it is used transitively, as Stat. *Theb.* viii. 571, grassatus cuspide turmas.

6. **Pollens potensque**] *Pollens*, "abounding in strength;" *potens*, "efficient in the use of one's strength." Doederl. *Synon.* iv. 163. But such nice distinctions are not always observed. The phrase was probably familiar. Comp. Orell. *Inscript.* i. 303, Herculi victori pollenti potenti invicto.

7. **Ad inertiam...pessum datus est**] "He has sunk into sloth, &c." The accus. of a noun, perhaps, i. q. *βυσσὸς*, "the bottom," used adverbially (subaud. *secundum*): *pessum dari* "to be sent to the bottom." The notion of its meaning, "cast under foot," as if connected with *pes*, is derived, perhaps, from the apparent similitude of the words.

8. **Usus...accusatur**] An *anacoluthon:* the construction in which the subject agrees with *usus* is dropped, and another commenced. Transl. "But if a man, ensnared by unworthy desires, has sunk into sloth and sensual voluptuousness, brief is his enjoyment of his pernicious appetites: his strength, his time, his talents, waste away through idleness, and then forsooth, the infirmity of nature bears the blame."

9. **Defluxere**] have come to an end. Comp. Senec. *De Brev. Vitae*, I. ubi vita per luxum ac negligentiam defluit... quam ire non intelleximus transisse sentimus. Hor. i. *Ep.* 2. 42, Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis.

10. **Auctores**] Scil. *culpae*, "The culprits themselves."

11. **Multum**] "In many cases;" "frequently."

12. **Neque regerentur, etc.**] *Homines* is the subject to the verbs *regerentur* and *regerent*. *Neque...et:* men would not, *on the one hand*, be ruled by, but would themselves rule over chance; and, *on the other*, would arrive at such a pitch of greatness, as instead of being mere mortals, to become in fame immortal.

CHAPTER II.

1. **Anima**] *Anima* is the principle of life: *animus*, of thought and will. So Nonius, v. 20, animo sapimus, anima vivimus. Here *anima* is used for *animus*, figuratively, as the vivifying principle of intelligence, which distinguishes man from the brutes. In the following clause, *animus* is employed more correctly.

2. **Praeclara facies**] "Remarkable beauty." *Facies* for beauty generally. Juv. x. 293, Sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia qualem Ipsa habuit. Lucan, x. 61, facie Spartana nocenti.

3. **Ut initium, sic finis est**] "As they have a beginning, so have they an end." Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 27, justa omnia decora sunt, injusta contra ut turpia sic indecora.

4. **Incorruptus**] i. e. *qui corrumpi nequit.* Tac. *Hist.* i. 35, Galba minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientes incorruptus; with the force of an adj. in *-bilis.*

5. **Corporis gaudiis**] Cicero, *de Fin.* ii. 4, restricts *gaudium* to mental pleasures, while *voluptas*, he says, may be used either of mind or body. But as Epicurus affirmed, that even the pleasures of the body were really referable to mental perceptions, he allows that, in this sense, the body can be said *gaudere. Tusc.* v. 33.

6. **Artes animi**] "Occupations which exercise the intellect."

CHAPTER III.

1. **Ex his**] "Of these occupations."

2. **Magistratus et imperia**] Those who held *magistratus*, scil. dictators, consuls, praetors, censors, &c., elected by the people at the *comitia centuriata*, had civil *imperium* of various kinds in the city, and were said *in imperio esse;* when any such officers went into the provinces, they exercised military *imperium* through a *lex curiata*, and were then said *cum imperio esse.*

3. **Honos**] In its technical sense, "civic distinction," i. q. *honores.* Liv. xlii. 22, quo die novi magistratus inituri erant honorem.

4. **Is fuit**] Scil. *is honos.* So Kritz reads, on the authority of several MSS. The more common reading is *jus* or *vis*, neither of which words gives a satisfactory sense.

5. **Utique**] So the MSS. generally, but omitted in most editions: the word implies *forsooth*, or, *as they think.*

6. **Patriam aut parentes**] Comp. *Catil.* 6, patriam parentesque armis tegere. *Jugur.* 87, armis patriam parentesque tegi, where *parentes* can only mean *parents*, or generally *relatives.* But *parentes* is used sometimes for *subjects*, i. q. *obedientes:* as *Jug.* 102, parentes abunde habemus, amicorum nunquam satis fuit. Here the disjunctive *aut* marks an opposition between the two objects, and *parentes* may best be construed "subjects."

7. **Importunum est**] "Is inconvenient, injurious." However much the usurper may employ his power to reform abuses, still the revolution by which he has risen will engender worse evils. These remarks are supposed to point to the usurpation of Caesar, or of the second Triumvirate.

8. **Quaerere**] i. q. *quaerendo consequi.* Comp. *Jugur.* 85, hae sunt meae imagines, haec nobilitas, quae egomet plurimis laboribus et periculis quaesivi: and again, 87, 89; Liv. xxv. 6.

9. **Gratificari**] The infin. depends upon the combined noun and verb *lubido tenet*, i. q. *juvat.* So *Catil.* 30, quibus mos erat (i. e. qui solebant), vendere. It is unnecessary to explain the infin. in these places as *put for* the gerund. *Decus gratificari*, i. q. decus gratis concedere, "to sacrifice honour and liberty."

CHAPTER IV.

1. **Ceterum**] "However, further," sometimes in opposition, sometimes in addition, to what has gone before; a word of very frequent occurrence in the *Jugurtha.*

2. **Quae ingenio exercentur**] i. e. *tractantur*, "which mind has to do with."

3. **Memoria**] Objectively, i. q. *memoratio*, "the narration."

4. **Per insolentiam**] "From vanity."

5. **Studium meum**] Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 43, evidently in imitation of this passage: ne nimio amore antiqui moris studium meum extollere viderer.

6. **Salutare plebem**] The candidate saluted and took by the hand, *prensavit*, the citizens whose votes he solicited. Comp. Liv. xxiii. 4, Hinc senatores, omissa dignitatis libertatisque memoria, plebem adulari, salutare, benigne invitare, apparatis accipere epulis. Cicero views the custom on its favourable side: *de Petit. Consul.* 7, nam in caeteris molestiis habet hoc tamen petitio commodi, ut possis honeste, quod in cetera vita non queas, quoscumque velis adjungere ad amicitiam; quibuscum si alio tempore agas, ut te utantur, absurde facere videare; in petitione autem nisi id agas, et cum multis et diligenter, nullus petitor esse videare. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* ii. 16. When Crassus sued for the consulship he feasted the whole Roman people at ten thousand tables.

7. **Quibus ego temporibus**] "The circumstances of the times under which I obtained offices." For the offices thus obtained by Sallust, see the Introduction, p. xi.

8. **Quae genera hominum**] "The class of people." Upon this point Sallust speaks with bitterness, having been himself ejected from the senate for imputed immorality by the censors, in the year 704. But he alludes particularly to the

foreigners, soldiers, and other unworthy characters, who were thrust into the order by Caesar. Comp. Suet. *Jul.* 80, Peregrinis in Senatum allectis libellus propositus est: bonum factum: ne quis Senatori novo curiam monstrare velit; &c.

9. **Q. Maximum]** Q. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Cunctator.

10. **P. Scipionem]** Scipio Africanus the elder, the most illustrious of the name.

11. **Imagines]** "The images:" i.e. waxen busts "of their ancestors." The busts of persons who had attained to curule magistracies were preserved in the family mansion (porticibus disponit avos, Juv. vi. 163; exornent undique cerae atria, viii. 19), and displayed publicly at the funerals of their descendants. Hor. *Epod.* 8. 11:

> Esto beata, funus atque imagines
> Ducant triumphales tuum.

12. **Scilicet]** "Forsooth, they said," &c.

13. **Non ceram, neque figuram]** "Neither the material of wax, nor the likeness."

14. **Eorum famam]** "The renown of the former, i.e. of the ancestors." If there is any distinction here between the two words, *fama* may refer to the "extent," *gloria* to the "degree" of their reputation.

15. **His moribus]** "In the present condition of public virtue;" i.e. when public morals are so depraved. Comp. Liv. vi. 4, Capitolium...opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum. Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 2, quod munus reipublicae majus offerre possimus, quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem, his praesertim moribus. So Lucan, ix. 190, makes Cato say of Pompey:

> Civis obit multo majoribus impar
> Nosse modum juris, sed in hoc tamen utilis aevo.

16. **Nobilitatem antevenire]** "To outstrip the nobles."

17. **Furtim et per latrocinia]** i.e. clandestinis insidiis, ut fures, et vim inferentes ut latrones. Dietsch.

18. **Altius]** i.q. *in mare altum.* "The wide open sea." So, naves in altum provectae, Caes. *B. Gall.* iv. 28.

19. **Redeo]** "I resume the intention I have professed of writing a history."

CHAPTER V.

1. **Varia victoria**] Abl. case, as in Justin, iv. 2, diuque varia victoria cum tyrannis dimicatum: "sometimes the Romans were victorious, sometimes the Numidians."

2. **Obviam itum est**] "Was opposed." Late writers used a verb *obviare*, as Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 2, quibus obviandum non erat.

3. **Permiscuit**] Comp. Lucan, iii. 138:

> Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
> Longus summa dies, ut non si voce Metelli
> Serventur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

4. **Uti studiis civilibus, etc.**] "The vehemence of party strife resulted in war and the desolation of Italy." Lucan seems to have referred to this passage when about to write of Curio's African campaign. See *Phars.* iv. 687:

> Nec tantum *studiis civilibus* arma parabat,
> Privatae sed *bella* dabat Juba concitus irae.
> Hunc quoque quo *superos humanaque* polluit anno &c.

Again, the *vastitas Italiae* is referred to in i. 28:

> Horrida quod dumis multosque inarata per annos
> Hesperia est...
> ...alta sedent civilis vulnera dextrae.

5. **Supra**] i.e. *ex iis quae supra sunt*, "trace from remote events." So, rem longe repetere, i. q. ex iis quae *longe distant.*

6. **Illustria**] "Plain, well-known." Cic. *ad Attic.* iv. 6, ne illius injuriam faciam illustrem.

7. **Post magnitudinem, etc.**] i.e. "no man injured Italy so much, since the period when Rome had become powerful, as Hannibal." Before that period Pyrrhus and the Gauls, Italiae opes attriverant. Comp. *Catil.* 5, hunc post dominationem L. Sullae lubido maxima invaserat reip. capiendae: "No man had been so ambitious of power since the usurpation of Sulla."

8. **Cui postea Africano cognomen**] P. Cornelius Scipio received the surname Africanus for his victory over Hannibal at Zama, and the triumphant conclusion of the second Punic war, A.U. 553 B.C. 201. He was said to be the first of the Romans who received as his title the name of the country he had conquered. Sil. Ital. xvii. 627, Devictae primus referens cognomina terrae. His sons Publius and Cnaeus bore the same surname: the elder of them adopted a younger son of his relative L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, who became

known as P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus minor, more commonly called Scipio Aemilianus. He was the conqueror of Numantia in Spain (A.U. 621), and opposed the agrarian laws of Tiberius Gracchus.

9. **Rei militaris facinora**] i. q. *militaria facinora.* So Cic. *pro Mur.* 10, rei militaris virtus.

10. **Syphace**] Syphax was a Numidian chief, who warred with the Carthaginians about the year 540 of the city. He entered into alliance with the Romans, but afterwards betrayed them, and connected himself with his former enemies. After various reverses he was finally defeated by the Romans. Polybius asserts that he was led in Scipio's triumph, A.U. 553, but Livy relates that he died in confinement previously. Silius Italicus follows Livy's account, and represents the *effigy* of the captive as carried among others in the procession xvii. 630:

> Ante Syphax *feretro residens* captiva premebat
> Lumina, et auratae servabant colla catenae,...
> Mox victas tendens Carthago ad sidera palmas
> Ibat, et *effigies* orae jam lenis Iberae.

11. **Magnum atque late**] Both words are to be taken adverbially. Comp. Virg. *G.* iii. 28, magnumque fluentem Nilum. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37, nuntiavere accolae Euphratem sponte et immensum attolli.

12. **Bona atque honesta**] "Good and true."

13. **Imperii vitaeque ejus finis idem fuit**] i.e. "his sway ceased only with his death." At his decease the grants made him by the Romans reverted to the republic, and his son Micipsa retained authority only in his patrimonial possessions.

14. **Dereliquerat**] So Kritz on the authority of the MSS. for the simple *reliquerat.* The preposition *de* conveys a notion of contemptuous abandonment.

15. **Domi**] Implying, *in domum suam ascitum;* "adopted into his own family."

CHAPTER VI.

1. **Luxu**] The dat. case. This use of *u* for *ui* is confined according to Priscian, vii. 18, to poetry; and adopted for the convenience of metre. Julius Caesar, however, according to Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, iv. 16, considered it the true form of the termination. In the MSS. of Sallust it occurs frequently, but not always.

2. **Exacta sua aetate et parvis liberis**] "Being himself old and his children still young;" exigere vitam, aetatem: to bring life to a close.

3. **Cum animo...volvebat**] "He considered with himself." So, *cum animo habere*, *Jugur.* 11. Comp. 13, 70, 93, 108. *In animo* would imply a fixed intention.

4. **Transversos agit**] "Draws or hurries away from the right to the wrong course." The same phrase occurs *Jugur.* c. 14. Senec. *Epist.* 108, ne resistere quidem licet quum coepit transversos agere felicitas.

5. **In Jugurtham accensa**] "Inflamed in *favour* of Jugurtha." So Tac. *Ann.* iii. 4, studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam.

CHAPTER VII.

1. **Circumventus**] "Embarrassed."

2. **Acceptum**] "Acceptable," "agreeable" Varro, *R. R.* iii. 16, Dis et hominibus acceptum. Virg. *Geor.* ii. 101, Dis et mensis accepta secundis. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 15, gratum acceptumque.

3. **Objectare periculis**] "To thrust in the way of danger." Comp. Virg. *Geor.* i. 386, caput objectare fretis.

4. **Bello Numantino**] See Liv. *Epit.* lvii. lix.; Flor. ii. 17; Vell. ii. 4. Numantia, a city of the Celtiberi in Spain. Its site, according to Mannert, was at the confluence of the two branches of the Douro, where that river bends to the west, a little south of Soria. For its position, see Appian, *Hisp.* 76, 90; Strabo, iii. p. 246. The Numantians destroyed themselves to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, A.U. 611.

5. **Saevitia**] i. q. *ferocia*, "prowess." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* xi. 910, et saevum Aenean agnovit Turnus in armis. Aen. i. 99, Saevus ubi Aeacidae telo jacet Hector.

6. **Acri ingenio**] Not "clearness" and "acumen, but "high spirit" and "bravery." So in c. 20, ipse acer, bellicosus: ut is quem petebat quietus, imbellis, placido ingenio. Horace, *Ars Poet.* 121, of Achilles:

> Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer.

Lucan. of Caesar, *Phars.* i. 146, acer et indomitus.

7. **Difficillimum in primis**] The superl. with *in primis* is unusual and not strictly correct. But comp. Cic. *Act.* 2 *in Verr.* iii. 27, homini in primis improbissimo So Liv. xli. 23, ego maxime gravissimam rem arbitror.

8. **Bonus**] "Excellent." When joined with an ablative limiting its application *bonus* i. q. *eximius*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3, Agrippam bonum militia geminatis consulatibus extulit. Liv. iv. 2, sic pace bonos sic bello fieri.

9. **Alterum...alterum**] "The latter," "the former;" this transposition is called by the grammarians chiasmus.

10. **Frustra erat**] "Was unsuccessful." The adverb for the adjective with the verb substantive. Comp. *Catil.* 21, quibus mala abunde omnia erant. 58, commeatus abunde. *Jugur.* 87, Romanos remoto metu laxius licentiusque futuros. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 28, teterrima quaeque abunde fuere. See note on *Catil.* 58.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **Clari magis, etc.**] So Livy, viii. 27, clari magis inter populares quam honesti. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 10, Vibius Crispus, inter claros magis quam inter bonos.

2. **In ipso maximam virtutem**] Inasmuch as, they said, his abilities were unrivalled, and everything might be got at Rome for money. The causal particle *enim* omitted as in *Catil.* 39, neque (enim) illis...licuisset.

3. **Praetorium**] The tent of the imperator, or, as he was originally called, the praetor, i.e. *qui praeibat*, "who led the army." In later writers *praetoria* in the pl. is used poetically for "a palace." Juvenal, x. 161:

Mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis.

4. **Abduxit**] Better than the common reading *adduxit*. Comp. Liv. xxx. 14, quos quum egregiis laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic alloquitur.

5. **Publice**] "By acting for the general advantage of the republic, rather than by acquiring private friends."

6. **Neu quibus**] "Nor...to any one."

7. **In suis artibus**] "In his (good) habits."

8. **Venturum**] *Venio* used of the unexpected arrival of good or evil fortune. Cic. 2 *in Verr.* ii. 14, huic hereditas venit testamento propinqui sui. Of spontaneous growth: Virg. *Geo.* i. 54, hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae.

9. **Sin properantius pergeret**] "But if he proceeded in too great a hurry."

10. **Suamet ipsum pecunia**] "By means of the very money which he should expend in bribery."

CHAPTER IX.

1. **Certo scio**] There is equal MS. authority for *certo* and for *certe*. Hand in his *Tursellinus*, ii. 15, makes this distinction, that *certo* expresses the objective certainty or *truth* of a proposition, *certe* the subjective assurance or *belief*.

2. **Gratulor**] "I congratulate you *thereupon*," i.e. "that Jugurtha is such as I have represented him."

3. **Beneficiis vincere**] "To win by good offices." Comp. Curtius, vi. 8, etiamsi ipse vel poenitentia vel beneficio tuo victus quiesceret.

4. **Pariter cum**] On an equality with. So c. 14, parem cum liberis tuis fecisti.

5. **Verba cum J. habuisse**] *Verba habere cum aliquo*, "to address a discourse to a person," as Ter. *Hec.* iii. 3. 21, hanc habere orationem mecum. On the other hand, Cic. *Som. Scip.* 1, multis verbis *ultro citroque* habitis, "after much conversation together."

CHAPTER X.

1. **In meum regnum accepi**] "I have admitted to a share in my sovereignty." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 373:

> Ejectum litore, egentem
> Excepi, et regni demens in parte locavi.

2. **Neque ea res falsum me habuit**] More emphatic than the simpler phrase *fefellit:* so, cognitum, perceptum, compertum, occultum *aliquid* habere. But here *res* is the subject, *homo* the object. Comp. 71, ne super tali re suspectum *sese* haberet. 79, quae res *eos* in magno diuturnoque bello inter sese habuit.

3. **Egregia tua**] "Noble deeds of yours." So Corn. Nepos, *Thrasyb.* 3, praeclarum hoc Thrasybuli.

4. **Rediens**] Not i. q. *quum rediisses*, but i. q. *in ipso reditu*, "in returning." The proper sense of the pres. part.; though for want of a perf. part., the other sense sometimes occurs. Glory might be said to accrue to Numidia from the moment the victorious Jugurtha *set out on his return* from the scene of his successes.

5. **Nomen**] "The glory of our family."

6. **Invidiam vicisti**] Comp. Hor. *Epist.* ii. 1. 12:

> Comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

7. **Per regni fidem**] i.e. *per eam fidem qua esse decet eum qui regnum obtinet*, "by your royal word."

8. **Non exercitus**, etc.] This is imitated from Xenophon *Cyrop.* viii. 7. 14, *οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν· ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον.*

9. **Equidem ego**] See note on *Catil.* 51.

10. **Concordia parvae**, etc.] This sentence, it is said, was often in the mouth of M. Agrippa, the associate of Augustus. Senec. *Epist.* 94.

11. **Ante hos**] *Ante*, implying priority, not in time, but in excellence. Comp. *Catil.* 53, gloria belli Gallos ante Romanos fuisse.

12. **Talem hunc virum**] "This man, so excellent as he is." Comp. *Jugur.* 63, is ad id locorum talis vir.

CHAPTER XI.

1. **Pro tempore**] "As the occasion required." Comp. *Catil.* 51; *Jugur.* 74.

2. **Justa**] Scil. *funera* or *officia*. Caesar says, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 19, justis funeribus confectis; but Cicero, *pro Rosc. Am.* 8, paterno funeri justa solvere. So *justa ferre*, or *dare*: Gr. *τὰ νομιζόμενα*; Festus, in voc. *Praecidanea*: qui mortuo justa non fecisset, id est, glebam non objecisset.

3. **Reguli**] "Petty kings," "chieftains," *δύνασται*. The word is not found in Cicero or Caesar.

4. **Minimus**] Sc. *natu*, which is generally expressed, unless *filius*, or *ex filiis*, is added, as Liv. i. 53. Sextus filius ejus qui minimus ex tribus erat. Justin. xlii. 5, obsidem Caesari minimum filium Phraatis ferens. Here *ex illis*, sc. *regulis*, means the sons of Micipsa, who were inferior kings, associated in power with their father.

5. **Quod apud N.** etc.] Comp. the story in Plutarch, *Cato min.* 57, of Juba assuming the place of honour *between* Metellus, Scipio and Cato. But the Romans also, at least at a later period, considered the middle the place of honour. The emperor took his seat in the senate between the consuls for the year. Hence Sil. Ital. iii. 626, of Domitian:

> Tarda senectam
> Hospitia excipient coeli; solioque Quirinus
> Concedet, *mediumque* parens fraterque locabunt.

6. **Fatigatus**] "Importuned." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 29, galla fatigabat alieni jam imperii Deos.

7. **Jacit**] "Suggests." Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 23, non mediocres terrores jacere atque denuntiare.

8. **Quinquennii**] "Of the five years' interval;" i.e. those during which Micipsa had been incompetent to govern.

9. **Ipsum illum**] Scil. *Jugurtham.*

10. **Tribus proximis annis**] "Within the last three years." Another reading is: *tribui his proximis annis;* as in Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 9, neque ego ad te his duobus mensibus scripseram. Comp. *Jugur.* 31, piget dicere his annis xx quam ludibrio fueritis superbiae paucorum.

CHAPTER XII.

1. **Loca propinqua thesauris**] i.e. the cities or fortified places in which the royal treasures were deposited, or which secured the command of them. No such place as Thirmida is known. Hippo (the modern Bona) and Cirta (Constantina) were the principal cities of Numidia.

2. **Proximus lictor**] The lictors walked before the magistrates at Rome, and the last of these, who immediately preceded the magistrate, was therefore *proximus* to him. The Roman writers constantly apply their own terms to foreign officers, &c.: *lictor* means here, "an attendant." *Proximus*, here metaphorically, "most confidential." So the cant phrase, proximus sum egomet mihi.

3. **Onerat**] Comp. Liv. xxiv. 13, Hannibal oneratos ingentibus promissis domum redire jubet. Tac. *Histor.* i. 25, Proculum et Veturium pretio et promissis onerat.

4. **Referebantur**] The use of the imperf. signifies: "were regularly carried back to Hiempsal;" i.e. whenever they had been used to unlock the treasury for the public service.

5. **Ut doctus erat**] "As he was instructed:" the simplest but least usual sense of the participle, which generally means, *peritus, eruditus.*

6. **Diversi**] "Going different ways." Comp. Liv. x. 33, diversi consules ad vastandos agros urbesque oppugnandas discedunt.

7. **Mulieris ancillae**] Mulier is superfluous, as in many places. Ter. *Andr.* iv. 4. 16, mulier meretrix. *Phormio*, ii. 1. 62, homo servus. Cic. *ad Div.* vii. 22, homo gladiator. We say, "a *maid* servant," "a waiting *woman*;" but in Latin the sex is indicated by the form of the qualifying word, *ancilla*, *servus*, &c.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. **Voluntate**] "Of their own good will." Comp. Liv. *Epit.* xlix., Andriscus totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit. Observe that the ablatives *vi*, *voluntate*, refer to different subjects, though brought under the same construction to serve the antithesis.

2. **In provinciam**] i.e the Roman province of Africa; formerly the domain of Carthage. The simple term *provincia* was applied to it, κατ' ἐξοχήν, as also to the possessions of the republic in Gaul. Comp. *Jugur.* 25, 39, 62.

3. **Patratis consiliis**] "Having effected his purpose;" i.e. his scheme against the brothers. *Patrare*, an archaic word for the more usual *perficere*.

4. **Hospitibus**] i.e. certain Roman citizens who undertook to entertain visitors from Numidia, and take charge of their affairs, like the πρόξενοι of Athens.

5. **Senatus...datur**] "A meeting of the senate is appointed them." So *diem dare* or *dicere*, a forensic term. The audiences of foreign envoys were ordinarily given in the first two months of the year.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. **Procuratione**] "Administration;" i.e. with deputed authority. Hence under the empire the officer by whom certain provinces were administered, was called *procurator Caesaris*, "the emperor's deputy."

2. **Jus et imperium**] "Legal right and formal authority." Hor. *Epist.* i. 12. 27:

> Jus imperiumque Phraates
> Caesaris accepit genibus minor.

3. **Loco ducerem**] Comp. Sall. *Fr.* 192, praedae loco aestimantur.

4. **Sustinet**] "Bears," with a notion of difficulty and pain. Ovid *Met.* ii. 296, Atlas, en! ipse laborat, Vixque suis humeris candentem sustinet axem. Comp. Plaut. *Poen.* pr. 90, homini, si leno est homo, Quantum hominum terra sustinet sacerrimo.

5. **Atque ego, Patres**] Not a copulative here, but marking a transition, "So," "such being the case, I for my part."

6. **Maxime...secundum]** "In the first...in the second place." Comp. Cic. *Philipp.* viii. 16, hujus industriam maxime equidem vellem ut imitarentur ii quos oportebat; secundo autem loco ne alterius labori inviderent. Varro, *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* iii. quoted by Nonius, ii. 621, animadvertendum primum quidem de causis.. secundum, qua fide...eas coluerint. Gerlach punctuates: secundum ea, "next to this," for which construction comp. Cic. *in Vatin.* 6, secundum ea quaero; and Caes. *B. G.* i. 33. In that case *desideranda* must be referred to another *ea* understood, and not to the *ea* which is expressed, an awkward construction.

7. **Neque mihi in manu fuit]** "It was not in my power to effect what sort of person Jugurtha should be." Comp. Ter. *Hec.* iv. 4. 44:

> Uxor quid faciat, in manu non est mea:

And below,

> Uti per otium tuti simus in manu vestra est.

8. **Quo tempore...]** "At a time when such was the condition of the republic that only its good faith, and not its good fortune, could engage sympathy or attract friends."

9. **Fortuna petenda erat]** "Would have been to be sought." The imperf. is thus used of a thing which in a certain case, which does not actually hold, would be right or proper. Cic. *leg. Man.* 17, Si Pompeius privatus esset... tamen is erat deligendus. See Madvig, *Lat. Gram.* § 348 *e.* *erat majestatis:* "It would have befitted the greatness."

10. **Evasere]** "Have come to this result." Ter. *Andr.* i. 1. 100, heri semper lenitas verebar quorsum evaderet.

11. **Parem cum liberis]** Cic. *Brut.* 59, erant ei quaedam ex his paria cum Crasso. *Phil.* i. 14, libertate parem cum ceteris.

12. **Ferro]** i.q. *certamine.* Suet. *Ner.* 12, exhibuit ad ferrum quadringentos senatores.

13. **Jure]** "Naturally," "as might be expected."

14. **Sese ecferens]** "Rising," "swelling;" i.e. growing proud and presumptuous: *ecferens*, an old form for *efferens*.

15. **In imperio vestro]** "Under your sway;" i.e. *vobis imperantibus.*

16. **Extorrem...effecit ut tutius essem]** *Extorris*, the proper subject of the second verb *essem*, becomes by attraction the object of the first verb *effecit*. Comp. Plaut. *Poenul.* ii. 5, Sex immolavi agnos nec potui tamen propitiam Venerem facere uti esset mihi. For *tutius essem*, see note on *Jugur.* 7.

17. **Praedicantem**] "Declaring;" i.q. *saepe et palam dicentem.* Comp. *Catil.* 48, ipse Crassum postea praedicantem audivi.

18. **Quo...accedam**] i.e. as a suppliant for help. Catull. lxiv. 177, nunc quo me referam?

19. **Pro magnitudine imperii**] "As befits the greatness of your empire."

20. **Quo accidam**] Scil. *ad genua:* "at whose feet shall I throw myself?" Comp. Ennius in Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 19, arce et urbe orba sum: quo accidam? quo applicem? Suet. *Jul.* 20, ut ad genua ultro sibi accideret. Senec. *Troad.* 690, ad genua accido supplex.

21. **Infesti sunt**] The passage seems to be imitated by Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 320:

> Te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni
> Odere; infensi Tyrii.

22. **Hostilia monumenta**] i.e. "memorials of the warfare waged by my ancestors against the neighbouring states on the Romans' behalf."

23. **Huic imperio**] "This empire of yours."

24. **Secunda et obedientia**] "Attentive and obedient."

25. **Sociorum injurias**] "The injuries suffered by your allies."

26. **Fingere me verba**] "They say that I make a fictitious representation."

27. **Quod utinam**] "I wish, for my part." *Quod*, in conjunction with *si*, *nisi*, *ubi*, *utinam*, &c., loses its pronominal force, and becomes merely emphatic, or marks a transition.

28. **Rerum humanarum cura**] Comp. Lucan, iv. 808:

> Si libertatis superis tam cura placeret
> Quam vindicta placet.

vii. 454,

> Mortalia nulli Sunt curata Deo.

Claudian, *in Rufin.* i. 1,

> Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem
> Curarent Superi terras.

29. **Nae**] Or, *ne*, "surely!" Gr. *ναί*.

30. **Sceleribus suis ferox atque praeclarus**] "Exulting and glorying in his crimes." Comp. Hor. *Epod.* iv. 5:

> Licet superbus ambules pecunia.

31. **Jam jam**] "Assuredly." Antiqua dicendi forma. Hand, *Turs.* iii. 156. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 369, jam jam nec maxima Juno nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.

32. **Unde minime decuit**] i.e. *a quo*. Comp. Hor. *Od.* iii. 11. 38:

> Surge ne longus tibi somnus unde
> Non times detur.

So illuc for in illum: Tac. *Ann.* i. 3, Nero solus e privignis erat: illuc cuncta vergere.

33. **Cujus vitae necisque**] *Cujus* referred to *ipse*, not to the substantive next preceding, *regnum*. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 36, vidisse civium moestos vultus, quod tantum aditurus esset iter, cujus ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent.

34. **Emori**] "To die at once:" expressing the immediate connexion between the death and its cause or motive. So Hor. *Od.* iii. 24. 24:

> Et peccare nefas aut pretium emori:

"to die thereupon."

35. **Neu**] i. q. *neve*. "And that I might not."

36. **Per vos**] i.e. vos obtestor per vosmet ipsos, &c. So Cic. *pro Plancio*, 42, nolite, judices, per vos, per fortunas vestras, per liberos, inimicis meis dare laetitiam. Liv. xxix. 18, per vos fidemque vestram.

37. **Per scelus, etc.**] i.e. "by the crimes of Jugurtha and the slaughter of my brother and myself, all belonging to the same family;" "by family crime and slaughter."

38. **Tabescere**] "To consume away;" "to perish ineffectively." Comp. Catull. lxiv. 199, Vos nolite pati nostrum vanescere luctum.

CHAPTER XV.

1. **Freti**] "Relying on the bribes they had given rather than on the merits of their case."

2. **Putarent**] Scil. the senators, understood in senatus. Drakenborch on Liv. iv. 58 brings together a great many similar instances of the plural verb after senatus. See note 20 on *Catil.* 17.

3. **Ante facta sua ponerent**] *Ante*, signifying "preference," never separated from its verb in Cicero, but commonly in the later writers. See Hand, *Tursell.* i. 386, and so in Ennius, quoted by Cicero, *Off.* i. 24, non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem, if the right order of the words be not rather, *n. e. r. p. a. s.* Comp. *Catil.* 53, and other passages given in note 7. In c. 16, *quae vero pretium aut gratiam anteferebat* is an instance of the more common usage.

4. **Contemnere**] "Express their contempt for." So Cic. *pro Mur.* 7, contempsisti Murenae genus, extulisti tuum.

5. **Bonum et aequum**] *Bonum*, that which is good in itself: *aequum* that which may be required of one.

6. **Aemilius Scaurus**] There were several families belonging to the Aemilian gens, distinguished by the surnames Lepidus, Paullus, Scaurus, &c. Scaurus signifies a person with crooked or weak ancles. Hor. *Sat.* i. 3. 47, scaurum pravis fultum male talis. The greatest man of this family was the M. Scaurus here mentioned. He was consul B.C. 115; triumphed over the Ligures, and made the Aemilian Way from Pisae to Lunae and thence to Dertona. Strab. v. He was consul B.C. 107, censor, and afterwards princeps senatus. He was a staunch champion of the senate; nevertheless he was accused by Varius, a tribune of the people, of exciting the Italians to revolt, B.C. 90. Scaurus proudly demanded of the people whether they would take the word of Varius, a Spaniard, or of Scaurus, the prince of the senate; and this appeal was answered with acclamations. Cicero extols the character of Scaurus as a champion of the nobility. For the same reason probably Sallust seeks to depreciate him.

7. **Polluta**] "Shameless;" "detestable." *Jug.* 53, indignus honore et quasi pollutus.

CHAPTER XVI.

1. **Pretium aut gratiam**] "Bribery or influence."

2. **L. Opimius**] A champion of the optimates, and vehement opponent of the Agrarian laws of the Gracchi. He was consul B.C. 121, in which capacity the senate called upon him to see "ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet." This decree was called Senatus-consultum ultimum, and was interpreted by the nobles as investing the consul with plenary authority over the lives of the citizens. Accordingly Opimius caused C. Gracchus, and his colleague in the tribunate, Fulvius Flaccus, to be seized, as public enemies, and put to death. The plebs denied the right to put any citizen to death except by a vote of the people. Opimius was eventually condemned by a popular vote for taking bribes of Jugurtha, and driven into banishment. Cicero extols him as the saviour of the commonwealth.

3. **Victoriam**] Opimius followed up the slaughter of Gracchus by the massacre of three thousand of his partizans in the city. Plut. *C. Gracch.* *Victoriam exercere* is to exercise the rights of victory. So in *Catil.* 38.

4. **In inimicis**] I adopt the reading of Kritz and several other editors, for *amicis*, given by the MSS.

5. **Accuratissime**] "With elaborate attention." *Accuratus* is said of things, *diligens* of persons.

6. **Fama, fide**] The ablat. governed by the *comparative force* of anteferrent, "he considered the advantage of the king more important *than* his own reputation." So Cic. *pro Balb.* 8, quum magna pars libertatem civitate anteferret; i.e. potiorem duceret. Cic. *Orat.* 13, Isocrates videtur testimonio Platonis aliorum judicia debere contemnere; i.e. minoris facere.

7. **Eadem via**] "By the same means." This metaphorical use of *via* is common in Sallust. Comp. *Catil.* 11, vera via. *Jugur.* 1, virtutis via.

8. **Mauretaniam**] The north-western parts of Africa, modern Fez and Marocco. At this period the river Mulucha, now Mulviah, constituted the boundary of Mauretania and Numidia. The name more correctly written with *e* than with *i*, as appears from inscriptions, and so also in some of our MSS. in this place. Dietsch.

9. **Agro**] "In extent of territory."

10. **Illam alteram**] "That other well-known part." Comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 5, si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, fortasse minus erunt mihi populares impetus pertimescendi; sin illam alteram (that other which you have heard), nescio an, etc.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. **Exponere**] Scil. *ut exponam.* The infin. used after verbs of willing, intending, &c. So *Jugur.* 19, alio properare tempus monet. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45, Macro impulerat Enniam amore juvenem illicere.

2. **Minus frequentata**] "Comparatively unvisited." So *ludos, sacra frequentare*, "to resort to." Observe the neut. plur. used instead of the fem. *frequentatae.* Kritz *in loc.* remarks, si subjectum pluribus nominibus varii generis constat, praedicati genus et numerus legitime ad id refertur, cujus notio in sententia praeminet et primaria est. So here *loca*.

3. **Haud facile compertum narraverim**] "I could not well relate anything as certainly known."

4. **Orbis terrae**] "The earth:" *orbis terrarum*, "the Roman empire." Cortius on Cic. *ad Div.* ii. 16. 13.

5. **In parte tertia Africam**] Comp. Lucan, evidently a diligent student of Sallust, ix. 411:

> Tertia pars rerum Libye, si credere famae
> Cuncta velis, sed si ventos coelumque sequaris
> Pars erit Europae; neque enim plus litora Nili
> Quam Scythicus Tanais primis a Gadibus absunt;
> Unde Europa fugit Libyen et litora flexu
> Oceano fecere locum. Sed major in unam
> Orbis abit Asiam; nam cum communiter istae
> Effundant Zephyrum, Boreae latus illa sinistrum
> Contingens dextrumque Noti, discedit in ortus
> Eurum sola tenens.

Some MSS. read *in partem*, and so the passage was read by St Augustin (*de Civ. Dei*, xvi. 17). It is doubtful, however, whether *in* with the acc. is ever used after *ponere*. Madvig on Cic. *de Fin.* v. 2, cited by Dietsch.

6. **Ea**] Sc. *Africa.*

7. **Fretum nostri maris et oceani**] "The straits between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic."

8. **Declivem latitudinem**] "The broad expanse of the eastern slope of the globe." So the southern hemisphere is called *mundi devexa* by Lucan, x. 39. While on the west, the extreme point of Africa is fixed at the straits of Gades, on the east it has no precise limit. The Catabathmus or declivity of the globe is the region eastward of Cyrene: so denominated by the Greeks of that place. Mela, i. 1, deinde a Catabathmo continuus est in Aegyptum descensus; i. 8 Catabathmus vallis devexa in Aegyptum finit Africam. Egypt was considered to belong to Asia.

9. **Arbore infecundus**] The reading cited by Arusianus Messus in *Corp. Gram. Lat.* i. 230, in voc. *ferax illo.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 57, flumen gignendo sale fecundum. Virg. *Geo.* ii. 222, illa ferax oleo. But MSS. and Edd. read *arbori.*

10. **Salubri**] *Salubre*, "robust;" *sanum*, "sound." Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 32. Tac. *Hist.* v. 6, corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum.

11. **Quae plerosque obtinet**] The usual construction would be *apud plerosque*, or *plerumque.* The passage is probably corrupt.

12. **Ex libris Punicis**] It will be remembered that Sallust administered the province of Numidia under Caesar, and may have obtained his information upon these subjects on the spot. The deponent used as a passive.

13. **Interpretatum**] So *enisum*, *Jugur.* 25. *Adeptus*, *Catil.* 7. *Machinatum*, *Catil.* 48, *bonis venditis aut dilargitis*, *Fragm.* 185.

14. **Uti...utique]** "As...and as." *Utique* unusual for *utque.* Comp. Cic. *Phil.* 9 in fin. utique consules quaestoribus imperent.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. **Vagi, palantes]** *Errare*, to stray from the right way ignorantly: *vagari*, to wander about, to roam, purposely: *palari*, to roam, apart from one's companions. Erramus incerti, vagamur soluti, palamur dispersi. Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 89.

2. **Hercules]** The Phoenician Hercules (or Melcarth) is the hero of Syrian and Punic legends. His conquests represent the spread of civilization by the commercial establishments of the Phoenician race.

3. **Multis sibi quisque...petentibus]** Comp. Justin, xxix. 1, regibus...in suorum quisque majorum vestigia nitentibus.

4. **Nostro mari]** i.e. the Mediterranean.

5. **Intra oceanum magis]** "Nearer to the ocean," i.e. towards the coast of the Atlantic Ocean rather than of the Mediterranean. The Persians are represented as occupying the country westward of the straits of Gades. That the passage cannot mean, as some understand it, "farther from the ocean," "more inland," appears from the use of *alveos navium pro tuguriis.*

6. **Alveos navium]** Comp. Lucan, v. 516:

> Haud procul inde domus non ullo robore fulta,
> Sed sterili junco, cannaque intexta palustri,
> Et latus inversa nudum munita phaselo.

7. **Materia]** "Timber." Madvig (*Gramm.* 56) holds that *materies* is the proper form for the primary meaning of the word, i.e. "timber," and *materia* for "matter." So in *Catil.* 10, all the MSS. read *materies.* In this place, however, *materia* is generally found.

8. **Mare magnum]** "The extent of sea, or ocean." Comp. Cic. *Somn. Scip.* c. 6, terra parva quaedam insula est, circumfusa illo mari quod Atlanticum, quod magnum, quod Oceanum appellatis.

9. **Ignara]** Passive for *incognita.* So *Jugur.* 52, regio hostibus ignara.

10. **Alia, deinde alia]** So *Jugur.* 36, alias, deinde alias morae causas facere.

11. **Nomadas]** Or *Numidas.* These are the words by which the Sicilian Greeks and the Romans respectively represented the native appellation, *Nemoudim*, Phoen. "wanderers."

12. **Mapalia**] Another form *magalia*. See Servius, on *Aen.* iv. 259. Lucan uses the same word of the huts of the Numidians, ii. 89:

> vacuisque mapalibus actus
> Nuda triumphati jacuit per regna Jugurthae.

Of their form, Festus *in voc.* says from Cato, *Orig.* iv. mapalia, quasi cohortes, *rotundae* sunt. (Cohortes or cortes, χόρτοι, inclosures for cattle, &c.) He is speaking apparently not of single huts, but of kraals, or assemblages of huts.

13. **Accessere Libyes**] "Approached the Libyans." As the Persae mingled with the Gaetuli in the west, so the Medes and Armenians coalesced with the Libyans in the east, on the borders of the Mediterranean, or *mare Africum*. Comp. *Jugur.* 20, pleraque loca accedit.

14. **Agitabant**] Scil. *vitam*. Comp. *Catil.* 2, vita hominum sine cupiditate agitabatur.

15. **Sub sole magis**] "More directly under the sun."

16. **Ab ardoribus**] "From the torrid zone:" as 19, loca exusta solis ardoribus. The Greeks denominated the zones, κατεψυγμέναι, "frigid;" εὔκρατοι, "temperate;" διακεκαυμένη, "torrid." Ovid, i. *Metam.* i. 46, quinta est *ardentior* illis.

17. **Proxime Carthaginem**] Propius and proxime may govern an accus. as well as prope. So in ch. 19, proxime Hispaniam.

18. **Hi**] Scil. *Libyes; hique*, sc. *Medi, Armenii et Libyes: eorum*, sc. *Medorum et Armeniorum:* the proper relation of the pronouns is not very carefully observed.

19. **Pars inferior**] "Nearer the sea," i.e. the Mediterranean.

20. **In gentem...concessere**] A phrase used of conquered people who unite with their conquerors.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. **Originibus suis**] *Origines*, scil. *metropoles*. Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 39, Iliensibus Rhaetum et Gergithum addiderunt, originum memoria.

2. **Nam**] With reference to a sentence understood, e.g. haec de illis urbibus sufficiant; sed Carthaginem consulto non nominavi; nam de ea, etc. Kritz.

3. **Ad Catabathmon...prima]** "Next to Catabathmus." Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* iii. 16, quorum ordo proxime accedit ut secundus sit ad regium principatum. Mela, i. 8, with an eye to this passage of Sallust, inde ad Catabathmon Cyrenaica provincia est. Comp. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. 9, dulcissimum ad hominis camelinum lac.

4. **Secundo mari]** "Following the line of the sea-coast." Virg. *Geor.* iii. 447, secundo defluit amni. Caes. *B. G.* vii. 58, secundo flumine ad Lutetiam iter facere, "following the bank of the river."

5 **Cyrene]** Founded from Thera, one of the Cyclades, by Battus, A.C. 632. Olymp. xxxvii. 1. See Herod. vii. 150 seqq.

6. **Theraeon...Philaenon]** Greek genitives, Θεραίων, Φιλαίνων. Kritz remarks that the Greek genit. in *ôn* is used only in rare proper names by the Latin writers.

7. **Super Numidiam]** "Above," "more inland." *Super et supra*, significant, quod, alio intercedente, remotius est. Hoc loco igitur est, *trans* Numidiam, quippe ab Italia, sive *ultra.* Sic Romani mare Adriaticum superum appellabant. Dietsch.

8. **Exusta]** Comp. Lucan, ix. 312, Vadimus in campos steriles, exustaque mundi.

9. **Bello Jugurthino]** "At the era of the Jugurthine war."

10. **Pleraque ex Punicis oppida]** i.e. *ex Pun. oppidis*, "many Carthaginian towns." The Carthaginians were called Poeni (*Punicus*, of or belonging to *Poenus*), from their original country Phoenicia. Gr. φοῖνιξ, the palm-tree. Hence the Latin *puniceus*, "red." Lucan, i. 214, Puniceus Rubicon.

CHAPTER XX.

1. **Decessere]** The MSS. fluctuate between this and *discessere*. The former is the proper word for an officer leaving his post, and returning home. Kritz *in loc.* who refers to Drakenborch on Liv. xxviii. 28. So *Jugur.* 28, decrevere uti legati...Italia decederent, 35, jussus ab Senatu Italia decedere.

2. **Opportunus injuriae]** "Open to injury;" "subject to be injured with impunity." Comp. Liv. xxviii. 19, quis unquam civem militemve opportunum injuriae duceret?

3. **Quam bellum sumere]** So c. 62, de integro bellum sumit. Comp. the common phrase *sumere arma*, "to take up arms." Virg. *Georg.* ii. 125, et gens illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris.

4. **Secus cesserat**] "Had been less successful than he had expected." *Secus* has the force of a comparative, *Jugur.* 92, rem haud secus difficilem, "not less difficult." In other places Sallust uses it with negation and *atque*, in the sense of "otherwise than." *Jugur.* 100, neque secus atque in mari.

5. **Animo...invaserat**] Comp. Cic. *in Verr.* i. 51, qui jam spe et opinione praedam illam devorasset. *Ad Att.* i. 16, ille autem regis haereditatem spe devoraverat.

6. **Praedas**] This word is used in the plur. in *Jugur.* 32, 41, 44. Booty may be of various kinds, or carried off by various persons, or from various places.

CHAPTER XXI.

1. **Obvius procedit**] For the use of the adjective instead of the adverb *obviam*, comp. diversus, *Jugur.* 12, 46, 50, and the phrases certantes agere, *Jugur.* 44, frequentes incederent, *Jugur.* 46, festinare pergit, *Jugur.* 52, properantes arma capiunt, *Jugur.* 53, occultus veniat, *Jugur.* 61, quo improvisus gravior accederet, *Jugur.* 88, citi sese ostendunt, *Jugur.* 101.

2. **Cirtam**] Cirta, Gr. Κίρτα, apparently i. q. the Phoenician *Kartha*, "a city;" called afterwards by the Romans Sittianorum colonia, from the followers of P. Sittius, a Roman adventurer who assisted Caesar in his African campaign; known in modern times by the name of Constantineh. It lies about 40 miles inland, on the river Ampsagas, and was one of the principal cities of Numidia.

3. **Die**] An old form of the gen. Virg. *Geo.* i. Libra die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas. This form is preserved by the MSS. in several places in Sallust, e.g. *Jugur.* 52, 97, though here many read *diei*.

4. **Plerumque noctis processit**] Comp. *Jugur.* 51, multum diei processerat. Lucan, vii. 423, compares the advance of the Roman empire to the progress of a heavenly body through the sky: Te geminum Titan procedere vidit in axem.

5. **Obscuro...lumine**] "The sun not yet risen." *Lumen* is properly the body from whence light issues, *lux* the light diffused. Doederl. *Synon.* ii. 66. But Virg. *Aen.* vi. 356, vix lumine quarto Prospexi Italiam, poetically, as we should say, "with the fourth sun," i.e. on the fourth day.

6. **Fugant funduntque**] "Put to flight and rout," or "disperse."

7. **Togatorum**] i.e. Roman citizens. These are called c. 26, *Italici*, and afterwards *negotiatores*, i.e. Roman settlers who carried on commerce in the country.

8. **Patratum**] "Accomplished:" a more formal and emphatic word than *perfectum*. See above on c. 13.

9. **Foret**] "Were already:" the imperf. for the plusq. perf. implying the immediateness of the act. Comp. nearly the same words in Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 16.

10. **Vineis**] These were wooden frames, covered with hides, wattles, &c., to protect the besiegers, while they worked their battering rams, or constructed their towers. *Vinea* is properly an adjective, agreeing with *porticus*, (as appears from Caes. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 2, porticus integebantur), from its similarity to vines trained over trellis-work.

11. **Tempus ..antecapere**] "To make the best use of the time before their return."

12. **Velle et censere**] *Velle* is properly said of a resolution of the people, *censere* of the senate. Sed hoc loco utrumque verbum de senatus consulto intelligendum est. Kritz *in loc.*

CHAPTER XXII.

1. **Maturantes veniunt**] For *mature*. Comp. passages in note on c. 21.

2. **Clemens**] Explained by Priscian in this place by *non nimius*, "moderately strong," more properly, "the rumour was softened," i.e. fell short of the shocking truth: opposed to *atrox*, a common epithet to *rumor* or *fama*. *Clemens* is "gently sloping," connected perhaps with *collis* and *clivus*. So Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 38, colles clementer assurgentes. *Germ.* 1, clementer edito montis jugo.

3. **Malitia**] "Vice." The same opposition is found in Seneca, *Epist.* 106, quicquid agimus aut malitiae aut virtutis gerimus imperio. Cicero indeed, *Tusc. disp.* iv. 15, opposes *vitiositas* to *virtus*, and would confine *malitia* to a particular quality, as we say, "malice." But in another place, *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 30, he says that *malitia* is any versuta et fallax nocendi ratio.

4. **Ob easdem artes**] "For the same qualities which had gained him the favour of Scipio."

5. **Pro bono**] i. q. simpl. *bene*. Kritz, *pro bono facere*, i. q. facere ita sicut bonum est, i. e. ut probari potest.

6. **Ab jure...prohibuerit**] "Prevent his using the law of nations to defend or avenge himself."

CHAPTER XXIII.

1. **Firmat**] Firmantur turres praesidiis cum per ea a dirutione defenduntur. Dietsch *in loc.*

2. **Praemia...formidinem**] "Holding out at one time promises, at another threats:" *formidinem*, "fear," for "the cause of fear;" i.e. *rem formidolosam.* Sallust uses similar expressions again, *Jugur.* 66, 89. *Formido* is stronger than *metus* or *timor.* Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 8, Stoici definiunt formidinem, metum permanentem.

3. **Miserando**] "By complaining of." *Misereor* expresses the inward feeling, *miseror* the outward act. So *vereor*, *veneror.*

4. **Ad proximum mare**] "To the sea at its nearest point."

CHAPTER XXIV.

1. **Socius et amicus populi Romani**] The sovereignty of allied kings was acknowledged by the senate. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* i. 43, Caesar commemoravit quod rex appellatus esset a Senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissima missa.

2. **Fortuna mea, etc.**] "My ill-fortune discourages me from writing more concerning Jugurtha, being assured that little reliance is placed on the complaints of the unfortunate."

3. **Nisi tamen intelligo**] "(I will say no more) but that I am aware." *Quod* is suppressed. Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 73, De re nihil possum judicare, nisi illud mihi certe persuadeo, te nihil temere fecisse.

4. **Petere**] "He aims at a higher object than myself," viz. at the Roman authority.

5. **Gravius**] "The more important."

6. **Posuistis**] So Cic. *pro Flacc.* 19, custos frumento publico positus.

7. **Ut...ostentui essem**] "That I should serve as an exhibition of Jugurtha's wickedness."

CHAPTER XXV.

1. **Enisum**] Passive, as *Catil.* 7; adeptus, 48; machinatus, *Jugur.* 17, interpretatus.

2. **Majores natu]** "Persons of greater age." i.e. higher distinction; whereas, on the former occasion, *adolescentes* had been sent.

3. **In senatu princeps]** i.e. princeps senatus. The man of highest standing among the *censorii*, those who had been censors, was appointed *princeps* of the senate, and his opinion was first asked on any question in debate. He continued *princeps* during his lifetime. After the year B.C. 210, the censors appointed the most worthy of the *censorii*. See in Liv. xxvii. 11 the story of the appointment of Q. Fabius Maximus.

4. **In invidia esse]** Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 9; Liv. xxix. 37.

5. **Triduo]** i.e. intra trium dierum spatium.

6. **Utica.** The capital of the Roman province of Africa; Carthage, near which it stood, being destroyed.

7. **Casum victoriae]** "An opportunity of victory." Comp. *Jugur.* 56, fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare.

8. **Multa oratione consumta]** "After much talking to no purpose." Such is generally the force of *consumere* in such phrases as, consumere diem, tempus, verba, &c.

9. **Frustra]** i.e. eventu frustrati. Comp, *Jugur.* 85, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint. 112, saepe cum imperatoribus Rom. pacem conventam frustra fuisse.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1. **Italici]** The Roman citizens spoken of in c. 21, by the designation of "togati," including, we may suppose, natives of Italy who had not the full Roman franchise

2. **Necat...interfecit]** A distinction may be drawn between these words. *necare* is to put to death by poison, starving, or torturing. Doederlein, *Latein. Synonym.* 111, 187, cites from the grammarian Festus: neci proprie dicitur, qui sine vulnere interfectus est, ut veneno, fame. We may generally attach to necare the idea of killing with cruelty. *Interficere* has the general signification of "slaying." Comp. Q. Curtius, ix. 2, Boxum protinus placuit interfici; Biconem etiam percruciatum necari. Kritz *in loc.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

1. **Potentia]** Always in Sallust "political influence." So c. 30, potentia Scauri.

2. **Lege Sempronia**] A law of C. Sempronius Gracchus (A.U. 631, B.C. 123), which provided that the consuls' future provinces should be assigned before the day of their election.

3. **P. Scipio Nasica**] This was the son of the Scipio Nasica who slew Tiberius Gracchus (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 16; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 19).

4. **L. Bestia Calpurnius**] This unusual order of the names is found occasionally, as in Liv. xxvii. 6, Crassus Licinius. Nepos, *Vit. Att.* 18, Marcelli Claudii, Scipionis Cornelii. Vell. ii. 26, Ofella Lucretius. In Tacitus the usage is frequent, as *Ann.* ii. 7, Pollio Asinius.

5. **Obvenit**] "Presents itself;" i.e. the lot turns up.

6. **Scribitur**] "Is levied," or "enrolled:" the names of the enlisted soldiers being written on tablets.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1. **In animo haeserat**] "Was his firm and fixed opinion." Comp. Plin. *Ep.* x. 31, sed et illud haereat nobis.

3. **Legat**] i.e. *legatos tibi adsciscit*, "appoints as his *legati*, lieutenants," viz. officers with whom the imperator advised on the conduct of the war, or to whom he intrusted the command of subsidiary expeditions. They were chosen by the imperator himself, subject to the approbation of the senate.

3. **Quae deliquisset munita fore sperabat**] "He hoped any blunders of his own would be bolstered up."

4. **Nam**] Not indicating the cause of what had been said, but introducing an illustration: "Now our consul, &c." Comp. Virgil, *Geo.* iv. 445, Nam quis te juvenum confidentissime?

5. **Firmissimus contra pericula et insidias**] In a moral sense, "determined," "unmoved." Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 18, says of Tiberius: satis firmus adversus pecuniam.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1. **Aeger avaritia**] "Corrupted with avarice." So in Horace, avaritia laborare.

2. **Plerisque, etc.**] "While many of his (Scaurus's) friends and partizans had already been corrupted by the bribes of Jugurtha." Of the corruption of Scaurus himself, Florus says (iii. 1. 5), Quum Jugurtha in Scauro ipsos Romani imperii mores expugnavisset.

3. **Cum iis**] i.e. with Bestia and Scaurus.

4. **De omnibus pactionibus**] "On all the subjects of treaty," "all the conditions of peace."

5. **Praesens**] "At once," "off-hand."

6. **Fidei caussa**] "To keep faith with Jugurtha," according to agreement between them.

7. **Vaga**] Or *Vaca;* a city of Numidia near Cirta, modern Veyja. See Ruperti *on Sil. Ital.* iii. 259, Tum Vaga et antiquis dilectus regibus Hippo. Accordingly not *Vacca*, as found in many MSS.

8. **Deditionis mora**] "While the treaty for a surrender was making slow progress."

9. **Praesenti consilio**] "In the presence of his counsellors." Cic. *Philipp.* iv. 6, Senatum orbis terrae consilium. Caes. *B. G.* iii. 3, Galba consilio celeriter convocato. *Concilium*, which is read here in some editions, means simply, "an assemblage," i.q. *coetus*.

10. **Per saturam**] "Opinions being asked in a confused irregular manner:" the *lanx satura* being a dish composed of various ingredients. Festus says, Satura est lex multis aliis legibus conferta: a comprehensive enactment, embracing many particulars. Per saturam legem ferre, is proverbial. Diomedes, Lib. iii., quotes a verse of Lucilius:

> Per saturam aedilem factum qui legibus solvat.

11. **Pro consilio**] "Standing forth in the council." *Pro*, as in *pro rostris*, *pro concione*, &c., implying the position assumed by the speaker, stepping forward to address his audience.

12. **Ad magistratus rogandos**] "To preside in the comitia for the election of magistrates." The proposer of a law was said *rogare legem*, i.e. to ask the people's decision about a law. Hence the same phrase came to be adopted in regard to elections. *Rogare magistratum* is to propose the election of a magistrate.

CHAPTER XXX.

1. **Parum constabat**] Scil. *iis*, "The senators were uncertain."

2. **Vindicandum**] When put absolutely, as in *Catil.* 10, i.q. *puniendum*. So below, *Jugur.* 45.

3. **Pollens**] "Effective." An epithet frequently applied by the later writers to language, as Lucan, vi. 685:

> Tunc vox Lethaeos cunctis pollentior herbis
> Excantare Deos.

Claud. vi. *Cons. Honor.* 501, quanta tuis facundia pollet Ingeniis.

4. **Perscribere**] It has been inferred from this word that the author has in this instance transcribed a genuine speech, instead of making one of his own invention. Some critics have fancied accordingly that the style is quite different from Sallust's own. I cannot perceive any material difference; the words are evidently Sallust's, and the most that can be reasonably said, is that the substance may be derived from the genuine document.

CHAPTER XXXI.

1. **A vobis**] i.e. *ne rerum vestrarum curam suscipiam.* This seems to be imitated from a speech of Cato the censor, *de Lusitanis*, a fragment of which is preserved in A. Gellius, xiii. 24, multa me dehortata sunt huc prodire, anni, aetas, vox, vires, senectus.

2. **studium reip.**] Comp. *Catil.* 41, studium conjurationis; "zeal for."

3. **His annis xv.**] "For these last fifteen years." The number is perhaps corrupt. The MSS. fluctuate between xv. xii. and x. It was twenty-two years from the death of Tib. Gracchus, ten years from that of Caius, either of which epochs might be pointed to. Cortius conjectures xx. as a round number, which Kritz and Dietsch adopt. Gerlach retains xv.

4. **Vestri defensores**] Scil. the Gracchi.

5. **Obnoxiis inimicis**] "When your foes have fallen into your hands:" i.e. their guilt is detected, and they are unable to palliate it. Comp. the use of *obnoxius* in *Catil.* 20, 48. Liv. xxiii. 12, si reticeam aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, "if I keep silence I shall seem either to be proud or conscious of guilt." Dietsch *in loc.* "gravissime orator perstringit popularium socordiam, qui omnibus injuriis vexati, ne tum quidem ad strenue agendum parati erant, quum certam victoriam in manibus haberent."

6. **Experiar**] "I will make trial of." Liv. xxxix. 26, licentiam vocis et linguae experiri. Plin. *Paneg.* 67, libertatem quam dedit experiemur. Juvenal i. extr.

7. **Ob rem**] i.q. *in rem*, or *ex re*.

8. **Suomet...more**] i.q. *suis moribus*, "through their own vices." *Mos* sing. for *mores* plur. Cic. *Acad.* i. 10, virtutes natura aut more perfectae.

9. **Quaestiones habitae sunt**] "Prosecutions were instituted." *Quaestiones*, questions of *caput*, i.e. life and civil condition.

10. **Regni paratio**] "Attempt at regal usurpation." (Comp. *Catil.* 5, dum sibi regnum pararet. So infra, parandi juris gratia.) This is an ironical concession on the speaker's part.

11. **Ulcisci**] In a passive sense, as in Liv. v. 49, quae defendi repetique et ulcisci fas est. Val. Flacc. iv. 750, lege occidit ultus ipse sua. "Activi *ulciscerem* exemplum tradidit ex Ennio Nonius, 292. 16." Dietsch. *in loc.*

12. **Nequitur**] This passive form occurs in a fragm. of Pacuvius, contendi nequitum: of Plautus, Retrahi nequitum: of Cato, *Orig.* 1, quod Termino fanum fuit. id nequitum exaugurari. Lucret. i. 1044, has *queatur:* and this word occurs also in Plautus and Terence.

13. **Expilari**] *Expilare*, i.q. *compilare*, "to plunder, pillage." The simple form *pilo*, from *pilus*, to drive a stake, to fix, or press.

14. **Parum**] "Not enough;" minus quam par est. Used adjectively in the sense of parvum, little, or too little. So Cic. *de Off.* i. 25, quae est inter nimium et parum.

15. **Incedunt**] "March with a grave, dignified gait." Virg. *Aen.* I. 50:

> Quae Divum incedo regina.

And again:

> Et vera incessu patuit Dea.

Lucret. iii. 75:

> Macerat invidia ante oculos illum esse potentem,
> Illum aspectari claroque incedere honore.

16. **Per ora**] "Before your eyes." Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 1. 65:

> Nitidus qua quisque per ora
> Cederet introrsum turpis.

Justin, xvi. 5, senatores per ora civium trahit.

17. **Imperio nati**] Comp. Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 5, nationes natae servituti. Tac. *Agric.* 31, nata servituti mancipia. Vell. ii. 118, natum mendacio genus. For the sentiment, comp.

Cic. *Philipp.* vi. in fin. Pop. Rom. servire fas non est quem Dii immortales omnibus gentibus imperare voluerunt.

18. **Libertatis curam]** Comp. Lucan, iv. 808, si libertatis Superis tam cura placeret Quam vindicta placet.

19. **Beneficia vestra]** "The advantages," i.e. "magistracies and honours, which you have to bestow."

20. **Majestatis constituendae]** Quintil. vii. 3, majestas est in imperio atque omni populi Rom. dignitate. Cic. *de Inv.* ii. 17, majestatem minuere est de dignitate aut amplitudine aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.

21. **Per secessionem]** The two secessions referred to are probably those mentioned in Livy, ii. 32, and iii. 50, A.U. 260 and 305. It seems that another historian, Piso, had said that the first secession was not to the Mons Sacer but to the Aventine, and this is the account which Sallust may have followed.

There was a third secession to the Janiculan hill, A.U. 406. Liv. *Epit.* xi.

22. **Si dediticius est]** "If he has the temper of a subject." *Dediticii*, conquered people who submitted without conditions. Comp. Liv. vii. 31, omnia in vestram dicionem dedimus, quicquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri.

23. **Paces]** Cato, *de Vit. Pop. Rom.* apud Nonium, ii. 621, animadvertendum primum quibus de causis et quemadmodum constiterint paces. This the grammarian qualifies as "nove dictum." But the plural is also found in Plautus, *Persae*, v. 1. 1, pacibus perfectis. Kritz *in loc.* So also Lucret. v. 1228, ventorum paces animasque secundas. Horat. *Ep.* ii. 1. 102.

24. **In perniciem casura]** "Would end in your ruin."

25. **Quantum importunitatis habent]** i.e. quae nimia eorum est importunitas, "so great is their insolence."

26. **Obedientes vivamus]** Plus est quam *obedientes simus*, et perpetuitatem simul denotat. Cortius. Comp. Horat. *Sat.* ii. 2. 136:

> Quocirca vivite fortes,
> Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

So Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 9. 37, vive pius, moriere pius. Stat. *Theb.* xii. 441, vivunt odia improba, vivunt.

27. **Si injuriae non sint]** The meaning is, it is of more importance to deter the evil-disposed than to encourage the good; for if you can prevent crimes against the state by the fear of punishment, you will seldom require the aid of your honest citizens for your defence.

CHAPTER XXXII.

1. **Captae**] "taken illegally." Tac. *Ann.* iii. 67, saevitiae captarumque pecuniarum teneri reum.

2. **Arcessebant**] "Demanded for trial." Tac. *Ann.* ii. 50, arcessere majestatis. Suet. *Claud.* 37, arcessi statim ac mori jussus est, "to be tried and executed."

3. **Perfugas**] *Perfuga* seems strictly to mean "one who seeks perfugium, refuge, by abandoning his post or party," *transfuga*, "one who deserts his own party and takes refuge *with another*." But no such distinction is strictly observed.

4. **Talis ea tempestate fama de Cassio erat**] "Such at that time was the estimation in which Cassius was held."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

1. **Contra decus regium**] "In a manner the reverse of royal." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* i. 82, contra decus imperii, "the honour and glory of legitimate authority." Luc. vii. 588, of Brutus, O decus imperii, spes O suprema senatus.

2. **In vincula**] "To prison."

3. **Numidiae**] Gen. for abl. *Numidia*, "in Numidia." The use of the genitive for the name of *a country* is irregular; but is here occasioned by the proximity of the genitive of *a city*, Romae. In English we should say, *at* Rome, but *in* Numidia.

4. **Corrupturum**] "He would injure."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1. **Quae ira fieri amat**] "Which anger delights to have used." Quintilian, iv. 3. 17, says: Graeca vero translata vel Sallustii plurima, quale est vulgus amat fieri. This passage, apparently corrupt, has been supposed to refer to that before us, and has been variously altered to apply to it. In Thucyd. viii. 1, we find ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν; and perhaps we should read *facere* in Quintilian. The idiom φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι is imitated by late Latin writers, as Auson. *ad Gratian.* 1, ut apud Deum fieri amat. Dictys, i. 3, sicut in re tali fieri amat; but this usage is not found in better authors. Still less would the Greek idiom of the verb sing. with the neuter plural be admissible. In *Jugur.* 41, we read: scilicet ea quae res secundae amant.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1. **Invidia cum metu**] "Public odium together with his own personal fear."

2. **Senescere**] Used figuratively, as Sallust, *Fr. Hist.* i. 30, nisi quum ira belli desenuisset, and in other writers of the best class as Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 3, oratorum laus...senescit. Liv. xxx. 29, senescere Punicum bellum cernentes. v. 21, senescit pugna. Ovid more than once. So also Sil. Ital. iii. 581, virtus paulatim evicta senescit.

3. **Maxime occulte**] "If possible, secretly." Comp. *Jugur.* 46, persuadet uti Jugurtham maxime vivum, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent.

4. **Artifices**] The substantive *artifex* used frequently as an adjective in the sense of "skilful." So Suet. *Calig.* 32, miles decollandi artifex, with which compare Lucan. viii. 673, nondum artis erat caput ense rotare.

5. **Egressus**] "Goings out," "movements;" very frequently used by Tacitus; as *Ann.* xi. 12, Messallina (Silii) egressibus adhaerescere: and elsewhere.

6. **Ex eo numero qui...erant**] By attraction for *ex eorum numero.* So also *Jugur.* 18, 38.

7. **Indicium profitetur**] "Offers to make a disclosure." So Tac. *Ann.* vi. 3, summum supplicium decernebatur ni professus indicium foret. Suet. *Dom.* 17, professus conspirationis indicium et ob hoc admissus.

8. **Ex aequo bonoque, etc.**] "Equitably, though not legally."

9. **Manifestus tanti sceleris**] Properly "caught in the fact." So *Catil.* 41. 52.

10. **Supra gratiam, etc.**] "Beyond his means and influence to appease."

11. **In priore actione**] In the first *actio*, or pleading, the charges were rehearsed and witnesses examined. The defendant was then called upon to give bail for his appearance on a future day, when the accuser should proceed to comment upon the charges. *In priore......*: "on occasion of the first proceedings."

12. **Ex amicis...vadibus**] "He had given fifty sureties from among his friends." *Vades*, those who offer bail as sureties.

13. **Urbem venalem**] These words should be construed as the exclamation of Jugurtha. They are reported as such by Livy, *Epit* lxiv. and Florus, iii. 1. 18. The account in Livy differed from that of Sallust. The former stated that Jugurtha was himself put to trial for the murder of Massiva, and escaped secretly. Jugurtha ... propter caedem admissam in regulum quendam nomine Massivam, qui regnum ejus populo Rom. invisi affectabat, Romae interfectum, quum periclitaretur, causam capitis dicere jussus, clam profugit, et cedens urbe fertur dixisse, O urbem, etc. Comp. Lucan, iv. ult.:

> Emere omnes, hic vendidit Urbem.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

1. **Ludificari**] The reading of Kritz, for *ludificare*, in all the MSS.; the passage being thus quoted by Arusianus in v. *ludificor;* and the same form being found in Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 21, evidently imitated from this: Tacfarinas ... spargit bellum; ubi instaretur cedens ac rursum in terga remeans; et dum ea ratio barbaro fuit, irritum fessumque Romanum impune ludificabatur.

2. **Ex tanta properantia**] i.e. ex praegressa tanta properantia, "After so much haste;" *ex* implying change out of one state into another. Hand, *Tursell.* ii. 646. *Ex*, ut Graecum ἐκ, de proxima consecutione rerum ita usurpatur ut condicio dicatur ex qua alia condicio prodierit. Tac. *Germ.* 22, statim e somno lavantur. Liv. xxi. 39, otium ex labore, copia ex inopia, etc.

3. **Aulo fratre . pro praetore relicto**] As one to whom the commander or praetor delegated his authority in his absence. So *Jugur.* 104.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

1. **Continuare magistratum**] "To continue their own magistracy;" "to keep themselves in office for a further term;" i.e. by *interceding*, i.e. interrupting by their veto the meetings of the people for the election of magistrates. So of the prolongation of Caesar's proconsulate in Gaul, Lucan i. 275:

> Quamvis nolente senatu
> Traximus imperium.

2. **Suthul**] This place is unknown. Priscian mentions it as an instance of barbarous names ending in *ul*. In ul quoque unum reperitur masculinum Latinum, *consul*; duo communia, *praesul*, *exsul*; et barbara *Suthul*, *Muthul*.

3. **In praerupti montis extremo**] "At the foot of a precipitous hill, surrounded by a morass." So we have summum

medium montis. This usage is common in Tacitus: medio campo, medio montium et paludum. So Livy: extremo aestatis; extremum auctumni. The more correct idiom would be *in extremo monte.*

4. **Cupidine caecus]** Comp. Lucan, i. 87:

O male concordes nimiaque cupidine caeci.

5. **Vineas agere]** "To thrust mantlets *forward.*" A military phrase adopted more than once by Caesar.

6. **Aggerem jacere]** "Throw *up* a mound." More commonly *jacere fundamenta*, to lay *down*, Horat. jactis in altum molibus.

7. **Incepto]** "For his enterprise."

8. **Properare]** This reading preferable to *praeparare.* So *Jugur.* 77, ni id festinaret.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1. **Subdolus augere]** The adjective is used in place of the adverb *subdolē*, which indeed is found in some MSS. Comp. *Catil.* 60, illi haud *timidi* resistunt; for *timidē*. *Jugur.* 44, praedas *certantes* agere. 61, effecit uti ad se *occultus* veniat.

2. **Missitare]** "To send frequently." A word which only occurs in Liv. ix. 4, and Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 1. Dietsch *in loc.*

3. **Vitabundus]** "Constantly avoiding." The participial in *bundus* implies the force, frequency, or abundance of an action. It is generally formed from intransitive verbs. Here the verb is transitive, and Livy uses the phrase vitabundus castra, xxv. 13. Madvig, *Latin Grammar*, 115.

4. **Delicta]** Referring to *pactio.* Jugurtha enticed Aulus into a remote place, where he might come to an understanding with the enemy undiscovered. But the passage seems to be corrupt, to judge from the variation of the MSS., and some editors have tried to make better sense of it by transferring it to another place, e.g. after deserereent.

5. **Instruit]** The present after *postquam*, frequent in Sallust, to give rapidity to the narrative. Comp. *Catil.* 40. 57; *Jugur.* 66, 76, 79, 80, 84, 86.

6. **Periculum anceps]** "The danger was double, whether they remained or fled," i.e. from the attack of the enemy, and from the darkness of the night; as explained by the words which follow. Anceps, i.e. *ambiceps*, "that can be taken up on either side;" hence may mean "double" or "doubtful."

7. **Cohors una Ligurum]** "A single cohort of Ligurian auxiliaries." There were ten cohorts to the Roman legion; but the number of auxiliary cohorts was indefinite.

8. **Turma]** A squadron of thirty horsemen. Ten *turmae* or thirty *decuriae* formed the complement of cavalry to the legion.

9. **Gregariis militibus]** "Common soldiers," i.e. Roman legionaries.

10. **Centurio primi pili]** The Roman legion before the time of Marius was arranged in three lines, called the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*, or *pilani*. In each of these lines were ten ranks, *ordines*, and ten centurions. The centurion of the first rank of *hastati* was called *primus hastatus*, of the first of the *principes*, *primus princeps*, and of the first of the *pilani*, who ranked above all the rest, *centurio primi pili*, or *primus pilus*. See a remarkable passage in Livy, xlii. 34, about the rise of a common soldier through these stages of promotion.

11. **Remorata]** Remorari more forcible than morari. Remora the name given to a fish that was supposed to cling to the keel of a vessel and impede its progress, Gr. ἐχενηΐς; possibly the Octopus.

12. **Eaque]** Scil. *parte*.

13. **Mutabant]** Scil. *mutabant se*, i.q. *permutabantur*, "they were set against the fear of death." This use of the active *muto* for the passive is not uncommon. Comp. Catull. xxii. 10. Liv. iii. 10. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 23, postquam mutabat aestus. But the reading rests upon a single MS.; the great variation of the codices being caused doubtless by the peculiarity of the idiom.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

1. **Dolere pro gloria imp.]** "Grieved in regard to their glorious dominion." Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* i. 7, dolorem quem optimus quisque pro patria suscipit. Tac. *Agric.* 26, securi pro salute.

2. **Insolita]** This part. usually passive, "id quod fieri non solet," here and elsewhere active, "quod facere (or pati) aliquid non solet." Comp. *Fr. Sall.* 202, genus armis ferox et servitii insolitum. Liv. x. 28, insolitos ejus tumultus conterruit equos. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 85, insolitum ad laborem Pompeii exercitum.

3. **Armatus]** "Though with his arms in his hands."

4. **Exercitu]** Dat. cas., "for the army." So c. 84, postulare legionibus supplementum.

5. **Nomine Latino]** i.e. the cities which enjoyed the *jus Latii* or *Latinitas*, the Latin franchise, a certain portion of the rights of Roman citizenship. This franchise was first imparted to the cities of Latium; afterwards extended to many communities throughout the dominions of the republic. It consisted in the *jus connubii* and *commercii*. The *jus suffragii* was not conceded till the year U.C. 664. In return, the Latins were bound to serve as auxiliaries by the side of the Roman legions.

6. **Ita uti par fuerat]** "So as there had been reason to expect;" there not only was reason then, but always had been, from the known principles of the republic.

7. **Mederi fraternae invidiae]** "Allay the odium against himself, on account of his brother's misconduct."

8. **Soluto imperio]** "In the relaxation of all discipline."

9. **Ex copia rerum]** "With a regard to existing circumstances." Comp. *Jugur.* 90, pro rei copia satis providenter exornat: 98, Marcius ex copia rerum consilium trahit.

CHAPTER XL.

1. **Mamilius...promulgat]** Cicero refers to the *lex Mamilia*, *Brut.* 34, invidiosa lege Mamilia C. Galbam sacerdotem et quatuor consulares L. Bestiam, C. Catonem, Sp. Albinum, civemque praestantissimum L. Opimium, Gracchi interfectorem, a populo absolutum, quum is contra populi studium stetisset, Gracchani judices sustulerant.

2. **Neglegisset]** An ancient form for *neglexisset*, cited by the grammarians, Diomedes and Priscian, from the historian Æmilius Macer.

3. **Impedimenta parabant]** Scil. not by their votes in the comitia, for the Latins and Italians had no right of suffrage; but by creating disturbances at the place of voting.

4. **Vi]** "With ardour;" used of moral purposes as well as physical acts. Comp. 92, quem locum Marius summa vi capere intendit.

5. **Jusserit, decreverit, voluerit]** These words are accumulated *emphasis gratia*, but with no increase of force in the last. The common form is, velitis, jubeatis, Quirites.

6. **Trepida]** "In a state of excitement." Persius, *Sat.* ii. 54, laetari praetrepidum cor.

7. **Incredibile memoratu]** The same phrase has occurred in *Catil.* 6. So vix credibile memoratu in Tac. *Hist.*

8. **Ex rumore et lubidine plebis]** "On mere rumour, and popular caprice."

CHAPTER XLI.

1. **Mos partium pop. et sen. factionum]** "The system of having a popular party on the one side and an aristocratic faction on the other." *Factio* is generally said of the few, the nobles, *pars* of the people.

2. **Quae prima]** The relative is referred not to the words themselves, but to the general sense of the antecedent. Comp. *Jugur.* 102, humanarum rerum fortuna pleraque regit. Cic. *de Divin.* ii. 57, earum rerum utrumque a corde proficisci. And on the other hand, Cic. *ad Div.* x. 21, omnia feci qua re resisterem.

3. **Populus et senatus Rom.]** The reverse order from that usually observed in combining these words, in order perhaps to mark that the two elements of the state are here regarded in distinction one from the other.

4. **Metus hostilis]** "Fear of an enemy," i.q. remoto metu Punico, as in *Jugur.* 105. Tumultus Gallicus, "A call to arms on the alarm of an attack of the Gauls."

5. **Scilicet]** "Then forsooth," ironically. For the neuter *ea* comp. *Catil.* 31.

6. **Asperius acerbiusque]** Scil. *quam ipsae res adversae.*

7. **Quae media fuerat]** This expression, which seems to be imitated in Liv. ii. 57, and Seneca, *Ep.* 104, is taken from Thucydides, iii. 82, *τὰ δὲ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων...διεφθείροντο.*

8. **Factione magis pollebat]** "Was strong by combination;" "by acting together;" opposed to *in multitudine.*

9. **Militum]** Scil. of the soldiers who were absent from home, and unable to protect their families from oppression.

10. **Nihil pensi]** See on *Catil.* 5.

11. **Ex nobilitate reperti sunt]** At last some of the nobles were found, such as the Gracchi, who preferred true glory to the tyranny of their class, and placed themselves at the head of a popular movement, which resulted in revolution.

12. **Quasi permixtio terrae**] "Like an earthquake," in which the strata of the soil are thrown into confusion and change places. The boldness of the illustration is acknowledged by the word *quasi*, "as it were."

CHAPTER XLII.

1. **Majores**] Tib. and C. Gracchus were grandsons on the mother's side of P. Scipio Africanus major, the conqueror of Hannibal. See Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 1.

2. **Vindicare...in libertatem**] "To claim freedom for the people:" the legal phrase for the declaration before the *praetor* of a slave's manumission. *Vindicare* may stand by itself. Liv. iii. 46, ita vindicatur Virginia spondentibus propinquis.

3. **Spes societatis**] Scil. the hope of being conjoined with the nobility in the enjoyment of magistracies, provincial governments, and other advantages.

4. **Eadem**] Neut. plur. "undertaking the same enterprise." Liv. xlv. 23, vix ea quibus fidit ingredientem.

5. **Triumvirum col. deduc.**] One of three commissioners for establishing colonies of Roman citizens on the public domains.

6. **Sane**] "It must be allowed." The partiality of the writer for the Gracchi has already been shewn in the use of the word *necaverat*, "murdered."

7. **Bono**] "To a good man."

8. **Malo more**] "After a bad fashion," so as to become *mali exempli*, a bad precedent. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 35, saevum id malique moris etiam saevientibus visum est.

9. **Ferro aut fuga exstinxit**] The figure zeugma, where one verb is coupled with two substantives though its sense applies properly only to one. Thus *extingui ferro*, "to be destroyed by the sword," is a legitimate expression, but not *extingui fuga*. *Exstinguere* (Gr. στίζω) "to prick or scratch out."

10. **Ulcisci**] "To punish," "to wreak vengeance upon." This is the primary meaning of the word, *to avenge* (an injury, a friend,) is secondary, and much less frequent. For the sense of the passage compare Thucyd. iii. 82, πάντι δὲ τρόπῳ, κ.τ.λ.

11. **Si...parem**] "If I should undertake."

CHAPTER XLIII.

1. **Q. Metellus]** Of the gens Caecilia. He obtained a triumph and the surname Numidicus, for his victories over Jugurtha. Vell. ii. 11, Metelli tamen triumphus fuit clarissimus, meritumque virtuti cognomen Numidici inditum. Comp. Ovid, *Fast.* i. 595:

Hunc Numidae faciunt, illum Messana superbum.

2. **M. Silanus]** Of the gens Junia. As consul he led an army against the Cimbri in Transalpine Gaul, and sustained a defeat, A.U. 645.

3. **Partiverant]** *Partiri provincias* is the usual phrase. So Liv. ix. 41. The active form is supported in this place by the consent of the MSS., and by Servius, on *Aen.* i. 197, who adds, nam et partio et partior dicimus.

4. **Adverso...partium]** "An opponent of." Adversus is sometimes used substantivally, as adversarius, amicus, inimicus, etc. See Arusianus in voc. *adversus illius. Gram. Lat. Vet.* i. 211. Ed. Lindemann.

5. **Fama...aequabili]** "His reputation was consistent, and unimpeachable." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 31, Artabanus fidus Romanis aequabilis in suos. *Hist.* iv. 5, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis.

6. **Alia omnia sibi cum collega ratus]** Subaud. *communia.* Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xiii. 1, cum Patrone epicureo mihi omnia sunt, nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. The ordinary duties of the consulship, such as the taking of auspices, &c., he considered common to himself and his colleague; but the war in Numidia was his own sole affair, as that in Gaul was the province of Silanus.

7. **Bello vario]** "A war which would require a variety of action," such as sieges, battles, foraging, &c.; and therefore, "for which resources of many kinds would be necessary."

8. **Invictum animum]** Comp. Tac. *Ann.* xv. 21, invictus adversum gratiam animus. Justin, xii. 15, in mortem invictus animus.

CHAPTER XLIV.

1. **Praedator ex sociis]** i.e. *ex agro sociorum*, as *Jugur.* 88, ex sociis nostris praedam agentis. Liv. xxiv. 47.

2. **Sine imperio et modestia]** "Without authority on the part of the officers, or obedience on that of the men."

3. **Aestivorum tempus**] Scil. *castrorum*, "the season of summer operations." Vell. ii. 105, anni ejus aestiva neque in mensem Decembrem perducta.

4. **Comitiorum mora**] The elections had been deferred by the intrigues of certain tribunes. See above, c. 37.

5. **Laborare**] "To submit to training by camp-labour," i.e. digging, carrying, watching, &c. The watchword given by the military emperor Severus on his death-bed was, Laboremus.

6. **Stativis castris**] i.e. the fixed camps in which the soldiers were retained in the winter, opposed to *aestiva*, the temporary encampments which were made during active service.

7. **Odos**] The old form of *odor*: scil. the noisome effluvia arising from a permanent camp.

8. **Neque...vigiliae deducebantur**] "Nor were sentinels placed:" as *coloniam deducere*, to lead forth a colony, and place or plant it.

9. **Certantes agere**] "To rival one another in carrying off;" the participle being used adverbially. See note 1 on cap. 38, subdolus agere.

CHAPTER XLV.

1. **Ambitionem**] Ambitio on the part of a general is relaxation of discipline for the sake of winning popularity with the soldiers. Comp. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 12, Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio milites regebat, ut adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum avidus.

2. **Sustulisse**] Scil. *comperior*, from the last sentence.

3. **Ceteris**] Scil. *rebus*, "he corrected other matters in regard to which discipline was relaxed, not by direct coercion, but by art and management:" *arte* opposed to *edicto*. Kritz. Others explain *arte* as an old form of the adverb *arcte*; "he forbade some indulgences altogether, others he confined within strict limits." This latter sense is preferable.

4. **Circumire**] "To go the rounds;" "to visit the sentinels' posts at night."

5. **Cum signis frequentes**] "In close array about their standards."

6. **Cibum et arma portaret**] Comp. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 16, militiae qui labor, quantus agminis! ferre plus dimidiati mensis cibaria, ferre si quid ad usum velint, ferre vallum. Nam scu-

tum, gladium, galeam in onere milites non plus numerant quam humeros, lacertos, manus. Sometimes the legionary carried a month's provision. Liv. xliv. 2, consul menstruum jusso milite secum ferre profectus. This provision was *frumentum*, wheat or barley in the grain.

CHAPTER XLVI.

1. **Certior Romae factus**] "Having ascertained, during his residence in Rome, the integrity of Marcellus's character." Nonius in v. *Innocens*, iv. 245, gives *Roma*, i.e. "having received information *from* Rome;" but all the MSS. read *Romae*.

2. **Cum suppliciis**] "With earnest entreaties." Comp. *Jugur.* 66, Vagenses fatigati regis suppliciis. *Supplicia* may also mean "ensigns of supplication," ἱκετηρίαι (comp. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 3), as Festus explains the word; supplicia sunt quae caduceatores portant: ea sumebantur ex verbena felicis arboris. So Virgil, *Aen.* xi. 100:

> Jamque oratores aderant ex urbe Latina,
> Velati ramis oleae, veniamque rogantes.

3. **Adgreditur**] "Accosts," implying properly, motion towards a person in order to address him.

4. **Palam, quae ex voluntate**, etc.] "Openly Metellus desired to be informed what would be agreeable to Jugurtha."

5. **Intento atque infesto**] "Prepared for fighting and in hostile array;" not in the loose order in which an army marches through a friendly territory, or in time of peace. So Lucan, i. 5, infestisque obvia signis signa: standards *arrayed* against each other for battle. Compare also Lucan, x. 436:

> Cum procul a muris acies non sparsa maniplis
> Nec vaga conspicitur, sed justos qualis in hostes
> Recta fronte venit.

6. **Contra belli faciem**] "With an appearance the reverse of warlike."

7. **Commeatum portare**] "To transport provisions for the Romans."

8. **Insidiis locum tentari**] "An opportunity for treachery was sought."

9. **Curabat**] "Took the direction," "commanded:" used absolutely, in a military sense. Comp. *Jugur.* 60, Marius in ea parte curabat. Catil. 59, Faesulanum quendam in sinistra parte curare jubet. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 31, adds the accus. of the object: exercitum Caecina curabat.

10. **Velites**] "Light-armed troops," used as auxiliaries to the legion, but not forming part of the three lines.

CHAPTER XLVII.

1. **Forum rerum venalium**] "A commercial emporium."

2. **Celebratum**] "Frequented:" *frequens* relates to persons or things; *celeber* or *celebris* is confined to persons. Doederlein, *Synon.* i. 25. Hence *celeber* comes to mean one who is much spoken of by men. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 88, Arminius...canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes...Romanis haud perinde celebris.

3. **Tentandi gratia**] Metellus places a garrison in Vaga on two accounts; first, in order to try and seduce the inhabitants from their fidelity to Jugurtha: and, secondly, because of the eligibility of the position for a Roman station, if they should consent to be seduced.

4. **Opportunitate loci**] i.e. *propter opp. loci.* So Tac. *Agric.* 45, felix...non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.

5. **Huc...praesidium imposuit**] *Imponere* with an adverb of place. Comp. *Jugur.* 54, ubicunque res postulabat praesidium impositum. 66, quo Metellus praesidium imposuerat. 75, eoque imponit vasa. The reading *huic*, which is supported by a few MSS. only, is not necessary.

6. **Juvaturum**] This form occurs also in Plin. *Ep.* iv. 15, as *sonaturum* in Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 44.

7. **Impensius modo**] i.e. *supra modum impensè.* The ablat. after the compar., "beyond measure earnestly." The same phrase occurs *Jugur.* 75. Some understand in both places *modo* as a conj. and the phrase = etiam impensius quam ante.

8. **Dedere**] "Offered to surrender."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

1. **Tramites**] "By-paths;" opposed to military ways or high roads.

2. **Vastus ab natura**] "Naturally desolate;" as ab equitatu firmus, ab doctoribus instructus; "on the part of." Vastus ab humano cultu, "as regards (the want of) cultivation:" qu. incultu. Comp. *Catil.* 55.

3. **Ex medio quasi**] "From about the middle." Comp. *Jugur.* 50, praesidio quasi duum millium montem occupat. *Fragm.* 218, quasi par in oppido festinatio.

4. **Pertingens**] "Stretching on." There is said to be no instance of the word being thus used, and some critics would read *pertinens*, but unnecessarily.

5. **Humi**] Gen. case, as, Tac. *Ann.* i. 61, humido paludum; iv. 41, secreto loci.

6. **Consita**] "Planted:" but as a stronger word than the simple *satus*, it here means "overgrown." Virg. *Aen.* iii. 127, crebris legimus freta consita terris: "thick set."

CHAPTER XLIX.

1. **Transverso itinere**] "In a direction at right angles," i.e. to the mountain.

2. **Extenuata acie**] "Drawn out in a thin line." Comp. Suet. *de Bell. Afric.* 14, adversariorum equitatus sese extendens, et...Caesaris equitatum extenuare. So applied to the scar of a wound; Catull. lxiv. 296, Extenuata gerens veteris vestigia poenae.

3. **Suos**] "His own division."

4. **Manipulos**] "Bands of infantry:" the Roman term applied loosely to the array of a foreign people.

5. **Decuerint**] Scil. *provideri;* to be supplied from *provisa*, which follows. *Decuerit* would be the proper construction.

6. **Locum superiorem, etc.**] Observe the four particulars in which Jugurtha had provided, like a good general, for victory; 1. higher ground; 2. knowledge of the country, and of the kind of warfare required in it; 3. no inferiority in numbers; 4. nor in skill and discipline.

7. **Prudentes**] Scil. *belli;* in everything relating to the conduct of the war. *Fragm. Hist.* iv. 12, belli prudentibus.

8. **Pecunia aut honore extulerat**] "Had advanced in wealth or dignity:" the proper meaning of *extollere*, to raise, promote, is extended by a zeugma to *pecunia*, which should properly be connected with such a word as *ornare*, or *locupletare*.

9. **Conspicatur**] Scil. *hostes:* MSS. *conspicitur.* But Donatus quotes Sallust's use of *conspicor* for *conspicio;* and the passage evidently requires the active sense here.

10. **Equi Numidaeque**] "The Numidians, horse and foot." So equi virique for equites peditesque. Caes. *B.G.* viii. 36, Germanos equitesque.

11. **Incerti quidnam esset**] Passivè "they were not clearly distinguished, as to what it was they were."

12. **Commutatis ordinibus in dextero latere**] "Facing right about." Jugurtha occupied the hill on the right of the Roman army as it descended the mountain.

13. **Triplicibus subsidiis**] "In three lines, supporting each other:" the usual Roman battle-array.

14. **Transversis principiis**] "With the first rank at right angles to the line of march." *Principes* are properly the second line, but *principia* the first rank of any line. The army having wheeled right about, continues to descend, in three columns, instead of, as before, in three lines.

CHAPTER L.

1. **Rutilium**] Consul with Marius A.U. 649.

2. **Cum expeditis cohortibus**] i.e. *sine impedimentis*, "leaving their baggage behind to expedite their movement."

3. **Crebro impetu et transversis proeliis**] "By repeated attacks and skirmishes on his flank."

4. **Quoniam armis diffiderent**] "Since they, the Numidians, dared not engage in a pitched battle."

5. **Post principia**] "Behind the first rank, in the first line;" which in the movement which Metellus was executing, became the right wing of the army, and was immediately opposed to the flank attacks of the Numidians. On the other hand, the left wing had become the first rank of the advancing columns, who are here called *principes*. See above, xl. note 14.

6. **Primos suos**] Scil. his own left wing, which was most in advance towards the mountain.

7. **Quasi duum millium**] i.e. *circiter*. Comp. Suet. *Calig.* 58, Hora quasi septima. *duum*, as in *Jugur.* 91, 106; but *duorum*, c. 79.

8. **Adesse**] Sometimes in the sense of attacking, harassing, particularly when coupled with an adjective of similar signification: as Liv. xxv. 34, Masinissa assidue noctes diesque infestus aderat. Flor. iii. 5, aderat, instabat, saevitia quasi virtute utebatur.

9. **Ludificati incerto proelio**] "Amused by a desultory mode of warfare." The verb is here passive, but active *supra*, c. 26.

10. **Ipsi modo**] "Themselves only," i. q. *ipsi soli*.

11. **Numero priores**] "Being superior in numbers," scil. the Numidians.

12. **Disjectos ... circumveniebant**] "Overwhelmed them in their confusion." So *Jugur.* 53, disjectos circumveniri vident. Comp. *Catil.* 39, circumventus ab inimicis praeceps agor. 34, se falsis criminibus circumventum.

13. **Ea vero**] Scil. *via*, or *parte*, "in that direction."

14. **Consueti ... equi**] "Accustomed to the hills and bushes;" not *consueti evadere*.

CHAPTER LI.

1. **Alii insequi**] "Others (Numidians) pursued."

2. **Observare**] "to pay attention to." *servare* would be more fitly applied to *ordines*, to keep the ranks.

3. **In armis omnia sita**] "all our lives and fortunes are *placed* in fighting." So Lucan, vii. 348, medio posuit Deus omnia campo: a metaphor from the prize of victory set before the combatants. Comp. *Jugur.* 51, spes omnis in fuga sita. *Catil.* 20.

4. **Hostibus dubiis**] "Such of the enemy as were shaken and confused, though not yet broken."

5. **Quos firmos...retinere**] "Such as kept their ground firmly he occupied with distant volleys."

CHAPTER LII.

1. **Ipsi pares**] equally matched as a pair of gladiators. Lucan, i. 129, of Caesar and Pompey, Nec coiere pares.

2. **Die vesper**] Comp. *Jugur.* 106, ubi castra locuta et diei vesper erat. *Die*, the old gen. for diei. See note 3 on c. 21. *Vesper* is never used without *diei* in *Catil.* and *Jugur.* Dietsch.

3. **Adverso colle**] i.e. the Romans charge up the hill on their right, on which the Numidians were posted: the ablat. of position, as trita via incedere, monte aspero decurrere.

4. **Evadunt**] i. q. *enituntur*. Comp. Sil. Ital. iii. 528:

> Quoque magis subiere jugo atque evadere nisi
> Erexere gradum crescit labor.

5. **Tutata**] The neuter predicate connected regularly with things. So tempus et ratio belli...permissa sunt. Liv. xxxv. 25, labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se juncta sunt. Liv. v. 4. Comp. *Jugur*. 68, ira et aegritudo permixta sunt.

6. **Quid ubique**] "What anywhere:" scil. *quovis loco*. The sense *et ubi*, "what the enemy was doing, and where he was," is also admissible. Comp. *Jugur*. 54, Jugurtha ubi gentium aut quid agitaret.

7. **Animo vacuum**] Not "idle," vacuus a curis, but "relaxing from his anxieties."

8. **Ex Jugurthae proelio**] "From the quarter where Jugurtha was engaged."

9. **Arcte statuerat**] "Had drawn up in close array."

CHAPTER LIII.

1. **Aequabilem**] Sc. *pulverem*, "constant," "not dispersed."

2. **Sicuti acies movebatur**] "As the army moved." *Sicuti* has sometimes the force of *quasi*, *tanquam si*, as if: comp. *Catil*. 38, alii sicuti populi jura defenderent: but with the subjunct. mood.

3. **Fugam faciunt**] In Sallust *f. facere*, always "to fly:" in other writers, "to put to flight;" i. q. *in fugam conjicere*.

4. **Fessi lassique**] "Weary and exhausted." The second word rather stronger than the first, not, as often explained, *lassus* de corpore *fessus* de animo.

5. **Amplius opinione**] "Longer than was expected." Comp. Cic. *ad Div*. xiv. 23, opinione celerius.

6. **Strepitu...adventare**] So, *clamore invadere*, *silentio egredi*, etc. Kritz compares also *Jugur*. 64, cupidine atque ira...grassari.

7. **Detractant**] This antique form appears in the MSS., and was used by Sallust. *Detractare*, *detrectare*, to pull down violently, to disparage, defame. Comp. Tac. *de Orat*. 26, detractare antiquos oratores. Ovid, *Rem. Am*. 365, Ingenium magni detractat livor Homeri.

CHAPTER LIV.

1. **In contione**] "In a public assembly," "on parade," from the verb *convenio*. Hence fig. the speech addressed to an assembly.

2. **Laudat atque agit gratias**] Scil. *iis*. Comp. *Catil.* 13, quippe quas honeste habere licebat, abuti (sc. iis) per turpitudinem properabat. Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 4, Sed haec eo spectant ut te horter et suadeam (sc. tibi).

3. **Pro praeda**] i.e. *ad praedam faciendam*, "for the sake of booty."

4. **Cogebat**] "Was levying."

5. **Hebetem infirmumque**] "Rude and feeble." *Hebes* fig. of soldiers untrained, or slow and stupid from want of proper military spirit. Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 99, hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles. So in Greek ἀμβλυτέρους πρὸς τὴν μάχην. Plutarch, *Vit. Alcib.* Celsus, *de medicina*, i. 1, Ignavia corpus hebetat, labor firmat. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 135:

> Huic modo ne prosit quod, ut est, hebes esse videtur.

6. **Ea gratia**] "On that account," for *ejus rei gratia*.

7. **Ex fuga**] "In his flight," "when flying." Comp. *Jugur.* 56, Jugurtha cognoscit Marium ex itinere frumentatum. *Catil.* 34, Catilina ex itinere...litteras mittit. Liv. xxx. 7, Hasdrubal ex fuga...urbem proximam petierat: where the action proceeds *out of* the flying, marching, &c. If it were said that anything happened to a person *in* his flight, e.g. the enemy overtook him while fleeing, it would be *in fuga*, *in itinere*.

8. **Flagitium militiae**] "A military crime."

9. **Iniquum**] "Unequal." Virg. *Aen.* x. 889, pugna congressus iniqua.

10. **Temere**] Scil. "irregularly, insufficiently."

11. **Sine praesidio**] "Undefended." Comp. *Jugur.* 66, milites palantes et sine imperio aggrediuntur.

12. **Ea formidine**] Scil. *ejus rei formidine*. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* viii. 704:

> Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
> Desuper; omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
> Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.

In the same way *quo* for *cujus rei*. *Catil.* 43, quo tumultu. *Jugur.* 104, quo metu.

13. **Sua loca...in alienis]** *sua* i.q. *commoda*, "a position chosen by himself;" *aliena*, the contrary. So *Jugur.* 61, neque Jugurtham nisi ex insidiis aut suo loco pugnam facere. Liv. xlii. 43, quum Perseus suo maxime tempore et alieno hostibus incipere bellum posset.

14. **Ex copia]** Scil. *rerum quae suppetebat*, "under the circumstances." Comp. *Jugur.* 39, 98, ex copia rerum. The MSS. however for the most part read *ex inopia*.

15. **Plerumque]** "The greater part of his army," not adverbial, but in its proper adjectival sense. So also the femin. sing. occasionally in Sallust: as *Catil.* 17, juventus pleraque; 17, pleraque nobilitas; *Jugur.* 79, pleraeque Africae imperitabant.

CHAPTER LV.

1. **Magnificum]** i. q. *superbientem*, "exulting." Comp. *Jugur.* 31, incedunt per ora vestra magnifici.

2. **Supplicia]** Here i.q. *supplicationes*, "a public thanksgiving," or *lectisternium*, when the sacred images were laid on couches, and a banquet served to them. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 64, tum supplicia Dis ludique magni decernuntur. This ceremony was repeated for several days, according to the importance of the occasion; sometimes as many as fifty. For other senses of the word see c. xlvi. 2.

3. **Post gloriam]** "After glory has been attained." So *post insidias Jugurthae*, "after the stratagems he had experienced."

4. **Effuso]** "Scattered and straggling," opposed to *intento*. *Jugur.* 105, temere et effuse euntes. Q. Curtius, ix. 8, barbari effuse sequentes.

5. **Praeda ager vastabatur]** i.e. *praedatione*. Comp. Liv. xxii. 9, praeda ac populationibus...Marsos devastat.

6. **Otium pati]** "To suffer the Romans to rest.'

CHAPTER LVI.

1. **Arcem regni]** "The citadel of the realm," as regarded the part of the country in which it was situated. Comp. Liv. xliv. 31, Gentius eam sibi ceperat velut regni totius arcem. Cic. *pro Ligar.* 7, Africam omnium provinciarum arcem. Livy uses the phrase figuratively, Consulatum, arcem libertatis:

Tacitus, Classem, arcem commeatuum. Poetically, Statius, *Sylv.* ii. 2. 131:

> Celsa tu mentis ab arce
> Despicis errantes, humanaque gaudia rides.

The situation of Zama in the centre between the gulf of Carthage and the lesser Syrtis shews how narrow were the limits of the Roman province at this time. It was afterwards included in Zeugitana, the district of which Utica was the capital.

Zama, the second or eastern capital of the kings of Numidia, was styled by the Romans Regia, and is not to be confounded with the Zama where the great battle between Scipio and Hannibal was fought, which lay forty or fifty miles to the west. Mannert, *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, x. 2, 356.

2. **Fallere]** i. q. *fidem mutare*, "to change sides." If they had gone over to the Romans they would have been treated with rigour as deserters.

3. **Ex itinere]** Comp. *Jugur.* 54, ex fuga; and see note there.

4. **Sicca]** A town of Numidia on the banks of the river Bagrada, lying centrally between Utica, Zama, and Cirta. It was called by the Romans Sicca Venerea, from a temple of the Phoenician Venus. Val. Max. ii. 6, 15; Mannert, x. 2, 322.

5. **Fortunam illis praeclari facinoris casum dare]** *Fortunam*, the subject; *casum*, the object: "fortune gave them the opportunity of performing a noble exploit." Comp. *Jugur.* 25, sese casum victoriae inventurum. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 28, Si Chatti casum pugnae praeberent. xiii. 36, bene gerendae rei casum offerri.

CHAPTER LVII.

1. **Glande aut lapidibus]** Comp. Liv. xxxviii. 21, sagittis, glande, jaculis, configebantur. *Glande* the collective sing. as c. 17, arbore infecundus. *Catil.* 59, nonnulli equites Romani...gladio minitabantur.

2. **Succedere]** With acc. or dat. succedere murum or moenibus, or with prep. *ad*, *propius ad rem altam arduamque accedere*. So in Greek, ὑπερχέσθαι. Homer, *Il.* ii. 492, μνησαίαθ' ὅσοι ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθον.

3. **Proelium [in] manibus facere]** Most of the MSS. read *in manibus;* scil. facerent proelium in manibus, i.e. cominus: but the phrase seems to want precise authority. Such phrases

as Sil. Ital. xii. 196, stat campus et arma, Et Mars in manibus, and Lucan, vii. 253. In manibus vestris, quantus sit Caesar, habetis, rather mean "in your power to use."

CHAPTER LVIII.

1. **Portam irrumpit**] For *in portam irr.* This poetical usage is affected by Sallust, comp. *Jugur.* 25; and imitated by Tacitus (*Ann.* i. 48; ii. 62. *Hist.* i. 61; iii. 47; iv. 15, 50, etc.).

2. **Nominis Romani**] "Of the fame of Rome." Comp. Livy iv. 33, nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque memores. Lucan, viii. 798, Romanum nomen et omne Imperium Magno est tumuli modus.

3. **Pauci in pluribus minus frustrati**] "Being few in number, and therefore sparse in array, while the enemy being more numerous were more densely posted, they missed their aim less frequently of the two." *Frustrati*, passive.

4. **Propere ... statim**] "Quickly ... immediately." The cavalry are sent speedily, Marius himself immediately, without a moment's delay.

CHAPTER LIX.

1. **In proximo**] Scil. *loco*, "nearest to the enemy.'

2. **Quivissent...facerent**] The imperf. does not stand for the plusq. perf., but indicates that the slaughter was still in progress when the Numidians had already been enabled to maintain their ground. Comp. Florus, iii. 3, 13, Cimbri si statim infesto agmine urbem petissent, grande discrimen esset: i.e. the Cimbri did not attack the city immediately, and accordingly the danger which was impending became averted. Cic. *Brut.* 10, neque enim jam Troicis temporibus tantum laudis in dicendo Ulixi tribuisset Homerus...nisi jam tum esset honos eloquentiae; i.e. great honour was already paid to eloquence at the time when Homer so praised Ulysses. Kritz *in loc.*

3. **Pedites cum equitibus permixti**] Of this mode of fighting among the Numidians, we read in Auct. *de Bell. Afric.* 69, Numidae...mirabili velocitate praediti, qui inter equites pugnabant. Caesar himself introduced this practice into his own legions.

4. **Victos dare**] i. q. *vincere:* an antique or poetical usage. It occurs frequently in Plautus. Comp. Liv. viii. 6, sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo. Virg. *Aen.* xii. 437, nunc te mea dextera bello Defensum dabit. *Aen.* xi. 334, quando tot stragis acervos Teucrorum tua dextra dedit. So also *dicta dare* for *dicere.*

CHAPTER LX.

1. **Eo]** i.e. *eo loci, ibi.*

2. **Oppugnare, aut parare]** Scil. *oppidani*, "the towns-people opposed the Romans in person, or prepared means of defence." *Parare*, i. q. instituere quae in rem et usum sint.

3. **Sicuti audiri ... possent]** "Howsoever they might make themselves heard."

4. **Niti corporibus]** "Gesticulated," i.e. "indicated by the motion of their bodies what they would have their comrades do."

5. **Studio suorum adstrictis]** "Engrossed with anxiety for their friends." *Studio* is ablat. Comp. Curt. vi. 8, religione deum adstrictus.

6. **Unae atque alterae]** Comp. Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 18, adductus sum tuis et unis et alteris litteris. Unus et alter signifies any small number. *Unus* in the plural is used with words that have no singular, or that are generally found in the plural: accordingly with *scalae*, "steps."

CHAPTER LXI.

1. **Ab Zama]** If it were meant that Metellus withdrew out of Zama, the preposition would be unnecessary; here it implies that he retired from before the town. Hand, *Tursell.* i. 10, foll.

2. **Ceterum exercitum]** "The rest of his army." *Ceterum*, that which is added to complete a thing, the complement: *reliquum*, that which remains after subtracting from a thing, the remnant.

3. **In provinciam]** The accus. is required by the idea of motion in *collocare*. So Caes. *B. G.* viii. 46, in fines posuit.

4. **Quae proxima.** "The part of the province which lies nearest to Numidia." The conjectural reading *qua* is unnecessary. Comp. *Jugur.* 78, inter eos et frequentem Numidiam, "the populous part of Numidia."

5. **De Massivae nece judicium]** i. q. *judicium necis:* as *Catil.* 35, conscientia de culpa, i.e. culpae. See c. 35, the story of the murder of Massiva, and Bomilcar's escape from judicial investigation.

6. **Per max. amicitiam]** "Through his close intimacy with Jugurtha."

CHAPTER LXII.

1. **Aliquando**] i. q. *tandem aliquando*, "at length." Comp. *Catil.* 52, expergiscimini aliquando et capessite rempublicam. *Jugur.* 14, utinam aliquando apud Deos rerum humanarum cura oriatur.

2. **Sibi consulant**] "Take care of themselves," i.e. abandon their sovereign. The phrase is generally used of persons whose affairs are desperate. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 141, Quae juvet et melius quam tu tibi consulat opto.

3. **Facturum...tradere**] "Promised to submit,...and was actually delivering up himself and his kingdom." *Imperata facere* is the proper formula for an unconditional surrender.

4. **Ad imperandum**] Not passive, as generally explained, "to be ordered, to receive orders;" but active, according to the proper signification of the gerund, "for Metellus to order, i.e. to dispose of." Comp. Lucret. i. 313, annulus in digito subtertenuatur habendo, i.e. "by wearing it;" where observe *subter*, "from the inner side;" iv. 1062, ulcus enim vivescit et inveterascit alendo, "by cherishing it." Quintil. xi. 2, memoria excolendo augetur, "by cultivating it."

5. **Tisidium**] A place not elsewhere mentioned.

6. **Ex mala conscientia**] "Of his own bad conscience." Comp. above, ex itinere, ex fuga.

7. **Casus in servitium ex regno**] Comp. Senec. *Phoen.* 599, In servitutem cadere de regno grave est.

CHAPTER LXIII.

1. **Praeter vetustatem familiae**] "Except ancient descent." Marius was a new man of obscure origin, from the municipium of Arpinum in the country of the Volsci. He was a simple peasant, and had entered the legions as a common soldier. He rose to the consulship, which he enjoyed seven times, and was leader of the popular party at Rome against the nobles. Comp. *Jugur.* 85, mihi spes omnes in memet sitae. Vell. ii. 128, Marium ignotae originis Romani nominis habuere principem. Val. Max. vi. 9. 14, ex illo Mario tam humili Arpini, tam ignobili Romae. Juvenal viii. 246:

> Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
> Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro.

Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 11, ille arator Arpinas et manipularis imperator. Plutarch, *vit. Marii*, 3, *γενόμενος δὲ γονέων παντάπασιν ἀδόξων, αὐτουργῶν τε καὶ πενήτων.*

2. **Belli**] "In war," i.e. abroad; as *domi*, "at home:" the *genitivus loci*.

3. **Natus et altus**] "Born and bred." So Cic. *de clar. Orat.* c. 10, urbs in qua et nata et alta est eloquentia.

4. **A populo petit**] The military tribunes were originally appointed by the imperator: after the year B.C. 362, they were elected, at least in part, by the people. Liv. vii. 5.

5. **Facile notus**] "Easily made known."

6. **Declaratur**] Scil. *tribunus* mil. The election made by ballot was announced by word of mouth. So Virg. *Aen.* v. 245, Victorem praeconis voce Cloanthum declarat.

7. **Ab eo magistratu**] i.e. post eum magistratum gestum.

8. **In potestatibus**] "Civil magistracies," opposed to *imperia*, military "commands." Cic. *de leg. Agrar.* ii. 7, omnes potestates, imperia, curationes ab universo pop. Rom. proficisci convenit.

9. **Ad id locorum**] "Up to that time," i.e. the time when the augurs advised him to indulge his utmost ambition. Comp. *postea* (*post ea*) *loci*, *interea* (*inter ea*) *loci*: *locus* signifying state, circumstances; and hence the time of such and such circumstances.

10. **Petere**] scil. *consulatum*. So c. 64, Marius ab Metello petendi gratia missionem rogat. Liv. xxxv. 10, multi et potentes petebant patricii plebeique. Kritz cites in illustration of the usage, Cic. *de leg. Agr.* ii. 1, me per longo intervallo prope memoriae temporumque nostrorum primum hominem novum consulem fecistis, et eum locum, quem nobilitas praesidiis firmatum, atque omni ratione obvallatum tenebat, me duce rescidistis, virtutique in posterum patere voluistis.

11. **Pollutus**] "Vile, unworthy."

CHAPTER LXIV.

1. **Eodem...quo cupido...hortabatur**] i. q. *ad quod*, the same point "to which." Comp. Horat. *Sat.* i. 1. 73,

Nescio quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum.

2. **Superabant**] i. q. *abunde erant*, "although he had a large share of good qualities." So *Catil.* 20.

3. **Tam prava]** "So monstrous:" *pravus* is crooked, deformed, as opposed to *rectus*, straight.

4. **Super fortunam]** "Beyond his condition." Comp. Prop. iii. 7. 2, infra fortunam qui cupis esse tuam.

5. **Caveret id petere]** This verb is joined with *ne*, *Jugur.* 62: with the conjunct. *Catil.* 58.

6. **Contubernio patris]** In attendance upon his father, as one of the young men who performed their first campaign in the immediate service of the imperator, and were called his *contubernales*, as though they dwelt in the same tent, *taberna*, with him. Compare, for the construction, Suet. *Jul.* 11, stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi praetoris contubernio.

7. **Annos natus circiter viginti]** The legal age of standing for the consulship was 43 years: hence the sarcasm of Metellus implied that Marius should wait 23 years more. At this time, B.C. 109, Marius (born B.C. 157) was 48 years of age.

8. **Ambitiosum]** "Calculated to obtain popularity:" applied to things as well as to persons. Tac. *Hist.* i. 12, ambitiosis rumoribus; i. 83, ambitioso imperio. So in Juvenal, ambitiosa paupertas, "solicitous of favours."

9. **Criminose...magnifice...loqui]** "Insinuating charges against Metellus, and talking bigly of himself with regard to the war." Kritz points to the distinction between *loqui*, "to speak" or "talk" generally, and *dicere*, "to make a speech."

10. **Quod homo inanis]** "Because the man was vain."

CHAPTER LXV.

1. **Secundum haeredem]** This must be understood in the Roman sense: the person to whom the inheritance was to descend in the event of the death or refusal of the first legatee.

2. **Imminuta]** "Weakened." Comp. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 93, corpus otio, animum libidinibus imminuebant.

3. **Uti sellam juxta poneret]** "That he might have the honour of seating himself by the side of Metellus."

4. **Honorem, quod]** Supply *negaverat*, "he refused him the honour inasmuch as."

5. **Anxium]** "Mortified."

6. **Secunda oratione]** "By language which followed up his own views," i.e. "a flattering speech." Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 584, neu dubites illi verba secunda loqui.

7. **Id adeo**] "That this indeed."

8. **Equites Romanos**] i.e. Roman knights, principally those who farmed the revenues in the provinces under the name of *publicani*. Many of the traders in the provinces were also of this enterprising class.

9. **Suffragatione**] "Favour or recommendation;" differing from *suffragium*, "vote."

10. **Mamiliam**] See above, c. 40.

11. **Extollebat**] "Was elevating to honours."

CHAPTER LXVI.

1. **Affectare**] "To conciliate," "to make one's own by favour and interest." Comp. Vell. ii. 39, Gallias saepe et affectavimus et amisimus. So above, c. 64, honor quem affectabat.

2. **Amiserat**] "Had neglected and let go." So amittere occasionem. Comp. the passage of Velleius in last note.

3. **Vagenses, quo**] "The people of Vaga, at which place," *quo* (*loco*) for *quibus*. Comp. Liv. xxi. 27, urbem Arcuam quo Hasdrubal frumenta convexerat.

After *Vagenses ... fatigati ... alienati*, the construction is changed, and *principes* becomes the subject to the pred. *cupe-rant*.

4. **Neque antea voluntate alienati**] "And who before had not abandoned him of their own accord."

5. **Discordiosum**] "Full of contention:" the termination in *osus* is emphatic. A. Gellius, iv. 9, cites the learned Nigidius Figulus: hoc inquit, inclinamentum semper hujuscemodi verborum, ut vinosus, mulierosus, religiosus, nummosus, signat copiam quandam immodicam rei super qua dicitur.

6. **Constituunt**] "Make an appointment:" so constituere cum aliquo, or alicui. Terent. *Hec.* i. 2. 121, nam constitui cum quodam hospite me illum esse conventurum. Juvenal, iii. 12, Hic ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae.

7. **ludum et lasciviam**] "Sports and recreations:" lascivia from laxus signifies relaxation of mind or body.

8. **Tumultus ipse**] i.e. *per se*, "disturbance for its own sake."

CHAPTER LXVII.

1. **Ad arcem...praesidium]** The verb "erat" or "stabat" omitted *emphasis gratia*. Comp. Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 296:

Stat Venus Ultori juncta, vir ante fores.

2. **Pro tectis]** "From the very edge of the roof."

3. **Anceps malum]** "The double danger," from the women and children, as well as from the men.

4. **Nisi...videtur]** "Except that (i.e. I only know that) he seems, etc."

5. **Intestabilis]** "Accursed," properly, one who for his crimes is forbidden by law to make or witness a will. Ulpian, *Dig.* xxviii. i. 18, si quis ob carmen famosum damnetur, senatus consulto expressum est, ut intestabilis sit, ergo nec testamentum facere poterit, nec ad testamentum adhiberi poterit.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

1. **Paullisper...abit]** "Withdraws for a short time in vexation."

2. **Ira et aegritudo permixta]** "When his vexation began to give place to resentment." For the construction see above on c. 52.

3. **Ultum ire]** Comp. *Catil.* 36, perditum irent.

4. **Fessos ..et jam abnuentes]** Comp. Lucan, viii. 3, Cornipedem exhaustum cursu stimulisque negantem.

5. **Non amplius mille passuum]** Supply *spatio*, or *intervallo*. In some writers, however, *mille* is used as a substantive, as Nepos, *Milt.* 5, ea civitas mille misit militum. Liv. xxiii. 44, mille passuum erant inter urbem castraque. xxi. 61, transgressus Iberum cum octo millibus peditum, mille equitum.

6. **Ostentat]** "Shews from a distance, offers or promises."

7. **In primo late]** "In the van in loose order," opposed to *arctissime:* so as to cover much ground and be conspicuous. *Late*, a conjecture for *latere*, the common reading, has been confirmed by some MSS.

CHAPTER LXIX.

1. **Rursum or rursus]** "On the contrary," properly, "turning back in an opposite direction."

2. **Amplius posse**] More usually, *plus posse*. But comp. *Jugur.* 111, quoniam armis amplius valuissent.

3. **Ex perfidia**] "Since the day of their treachery." For this sense of *ex*, see above, c. 28.

4. **Opulens**] Sallust uses the common form, *opulentus*, in *Catil.* 53, *Jugur.* 10, 75, and elsewhere; but *opulenter*, *Jugur.* 85. So violens in Horat. *Carm.* iii. 30, Dicar qua violens obstrepit Aufidus.

5. **Poenae aut praedae fuit**] "Was subjected to punishment, i.e. massacre, or plunder." *Poenae esse* would hardly be admissible by itself, but the meaning is understood from *praedae esse*.

6. **Capite poenas solvit**] "Is executed."

7. **Nam is civis ex Latio erat**] "For he was a citizen of the Latin rank or order;" i.e. only had the Latin franchise. By the lex Porcia a genuine Roman citizen might not be beaten with rods. This exemption had been extended to the Latins by a lex of M. Livius Drusus, A.U. 632, Plut. *C. Gracch.* 9, but seems to have been disregarded. The story of Turpilius is told somewhat differently by Plutarch, *Mar.* 8. According to this writer the charge against him was false, and got up by Marius, who instigated Metellus to put him to death to gratify his own malice against the imperator, whose retainer Turpilius had been.

CHAPTER LXX.

1. **Suspiciens**] i.q. *suspiciosus*, "suspecting." The word, it is said, is not found elsewhere in this sense, except in the pass. part.; but this sense is more easily attributed to it here because *suspectus* immediately precedes.

2. **Omnia tentando**] This is to be distinguished from *omnia tentans* "in the course of trying everything," and from *omnibus tentatis*, "after everything had been tried." It implies that what follows, *socium sibi adjungit N.*, was a result of his trying various schemes.

3. **Majoribus adstricto**] scil. *rebus*. "Occupied by more important affairs."

4. **Quae superaverant**] i. q. *restiterant*, *superfuerant*, "remained over," or "undone." Comp. A. Gell. i. 22, on the ancient use of this word. Virgil: captae superavimus urbi.

CHAPTER LXXI.

1. **Aegrum animum]** "A mind ill at ease, vexed and harassed."

2. **Neque epistolam...et rem omnem]** "Neither...and," equivalent to "not...but." Lucan, i. 134:

> Nec reparare novas vires, multumque priori
> Credere fortunae.

Jugur. 85, ut neque vos capiamini, et illi frustra sint.

3. **Super tali scelere]** i. q. *de;* rare in prose writers of the golden age: never in Caesar, twice only in Cicero, in his letters, once in Sallust, once in Nepos. Dietsch, in loc. But comp. Virgil. *Aen.* i. 750:

> Multa super Priamo rogitans, super Hectore multa.

CHAPTER LXXII.

1. **Aliter, etc.]** i.e. *placide.*

2. **Iram oppresserat]** "He had suppressed his anger at the slaughter," &c. Comp. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 14, dolorem opprimi dico patientia.

3. **Circumspectare]** "He examined anxiously and timidly." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 69, *Hist.* iv. 8, animus novo principatu suspensus et vultus quoque et sermones omnium circumspectans. Cic. *in Pison.* 41, circumspectantem omnia, quicquid increpuisset pertimescentem vidi.

4. **Arreptis armis]** Cortius in loc. explains; *quasi adessent qui vim pararent.*

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1. **Indicio patefacto]** An incorrect expression for *insidiis per indices patefactis:* "to disclose" is properly *indicium facere*, not *patefacere.*

2. **Ad integrum bellum]** "A fresh war," i.e. a war exhausted or finished in no particular, in no quarter. Comp. Curt. ix. 4, integrum bellum cum ferocissimis Indiae gentibus superesse cognoverant.

3. **Fatigantem de profectione]** "Importuning him for leave of absence."

4. **Moderata sunt]** "As regarded either, party views influenced the people more than the good or evil qualities of the men themselves;" i.e. the merits of Marius or demerits of Me-

tellus. *Sua* for *earum*; as *Catil.* 21, cupiditatis suae. 58, domi suae. *Jugur.* 9, habes virum dignum te atque avo suo. *Bona* and *mala* used for virtues and vices, as *Jugur.* 85, 108, ob ingenii multa bona.

5. **Capitis arcessere**] "Accused of a capital crime." This is said hyperbolically of the vehement denunciations of the tribunes.

6. **In majus celebrare**] Imitated perhaps from Thucyd. i. 21, *ὡς ποιηταὶ ὑμνήκασι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον κοσμοῦντες*, and repeated by Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 8, omnia in majus celebrata sunt. See also xv. 30. Liv. xxviii. 31, in majus accipere.

7. **Res fidesque**] There is a familiar opposition in these words thus conjoined, as we say, "cash and credit." Comp. Plaut. *Trucul.* i. 1. 24, exemplo ut quom perit et res et fides. 38, quom rem fidemque nosque nosmet perdimus.

8. **In manibus**] "In their daily labour." Comp. *Catil.* 37, in manuum mercede.

9. **Post multas tempestates**] "After many recurring years:" *tempestates* implies the seasons of election duly recurring.

10. **Ea res frustra fuit**] Comp. *Jugur.* 7 and note 9. *Frustra* derived from *fraus*, which signifies properly "disappointment in events or things," *dolus* "deceit in persons." Hor. *Od.* ii. 19. 19, coerces Bistonidum sine fraude crines, "without hurt or harm." "The decree of the senate was quashed." The appointment of the provinces belonged of right to the people, but the senate generally recommended, and gradually usurped the prerogative in ordinary cases. Sometimes, however, the people insisted upon exercising their privilege, and the senate was forced to give way.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

1. **Varius incertusque**] "Changeable and uncertain as to his plans."

2. **In dies mutare**] i.q. *in singulos dies*, from day to day. So *in horas*. Hor. *Od.* ii. 13. 13:

> Quid quisque vitet nunquam homini satis
> Cautum est in horas.

3. **Quocumque intenderat**] Scil. *animum*, "whatever course he had resolved on." The plusq. perf. shews that *intendere* implies a moral act, a plan or intention, which must precede the physical movement. If Sallust had meant to say, "in whatever direction he moved," he must have used the imperf.

4. **Aliquanto numero**] "A good many," opposed to *paucorum.*

5. **Ferme**] A more ancient form than *fere*. Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vii. 5.

6. **Tuta sunt**] "Protected:" the partic. of *tuor* or *tueor*. But some MSS. read here *tutata*, the form which has been retained in *Jugur.* 52; Liv. x. 37; Plin. *H. N.* vii. procem.; and which should probably be read here.

CHAPTER LXXV.

1. **Thala**] Supposed by Mannert to be the Telepte of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, a place on the northern edge of the desert which lies between Numidia and the lesser Syrtis and lacus Tritonis. Shaw identifies it with the modern Ferreanah.

2. **Multus pueritiae cultus**] "Great provision for bringing up his children;" i.e. the women, slaves, attendants upon them, &c.

3. **Domiti pecoris**] "Cattle broken to service." Comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 60, efficimus domitu nostro quadrupedum vectiones.

4. **Eoque**] Adverbial. Comp. c. 47, huc...imposuit.

5. **Ubi praesto fuerint**] This or *fuerit* is the reading of the MSS. Kritz, contrary to his usual deference to the MSS., conjectures *forent*, as the more appropriate tense. But *fuerint* implies that the people "shall be already there," "shall have already arrived," when Metellus comes up.

6. **Ad id loci ventum, quo Numidis praeceperat**] i. q. *eo ventum quo Numidis convenire praeceperat.*

7. **Officia intenderant**] "Had done their part zealously:" "had stretched their aid to the utmost." Comp. Tacit. *Hist.* i. 24, largitionem Otho praemiis intendebat.

8. **Religione**] "From a superstitious feeling," i.e. believing the rain to be sent them by the gift of the gods.

9. **Locorum asperitate**] "The wildness of the country that lay between." Comp. *Jugur.* 89, where the same phrase is explained: nam praeter oppido propinqua alia omnia vasta, inculta, egentia aquae, infesta serpentibus.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

1. **Nihil infectum**] "Nothing impossible:" the perf. part. pass. becomes equivalent to the adject. in *-bilis*. So *invictus* (quasi *invincibilis*), *incorruptus*, *inaccessus*, &c. This usage seems to prevail in regard to words which have no adjectival form in *-bilis*.

2. **Ceteris imperitantem**] "Which controls all others."

3. **Locis ex copia maxime idoneis**] "At spots the most suitable of all that offered."

4. **Vineas agere**] See *Jugur.* 37, not. 5.

5. **Administros**] The word is specially used of military engineers and "pioneers." Caes. *Bell. Gall.* vii. 81, quae ad oppugnationem pertinent administrare.

6. **Nihil reliquum fieri**] "Nothing was left undone."

7. **Multo ante labore fatigati**] "Fatigued with much previous toil," i.e. qui antea fuit. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 198, neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum. Catull. iv. 11, Ubi ille post phaselus (i.e. qui postea fuit) antea fuit Comata sylva. Comp. also Plaut. *Amphitr.* ii. 2. 138, Tu intus pateram (i.e. quae intus est) proferto foras. Hor. *Od.* iv. 6. 3, Trojae prope victor, i.e. qui prope fuit. Lucan, vi. 363, et tunc Oeneu Paene gener: i.e. qui paene fuit.

8. **Corrupta**] "Destroyed:" as immediately below, *igni corrumpunt*.

9. **Onerati**] "Laden." Comp. Curt. iv. 4, oneravere se vino. Justin. i. 8; Suet. *Tib.* 61. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 78, corpus onustum Hesternis vitiis.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

1. **Suam salutem, illorum socios**] Asyndeton: "their own safety and the allies of Rome;" i.e. the Leptitans would risk the safety of their state, and the Romans the advantages of their alliance.

2. **Gnave**] "Sedulously." The MSS. mostly read *nave*, some *navi*. I write *gnave* for the sake of clearness.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

1. **Inter duas Syrtes**] The greater and the lesser Syrtis, mod. the gulf of Sidra, and the gulf of Khabs: deep bays in the northern coast of Africa, in which the tide has some influ-

ence. They are obstructed with shifting sand-banks, accumulated by the currents of the outer sea, some of which are uncovered at low water. Sallust derives their name, in accordance with the ideas of the Greek geographers, from the verb σύρειν, "to drag," from the stones, &c. dragged along the bottom by the force of the waves. But the words *Syrtes ab tractu nominatae* found in most MSS. seem to be a gloss taken from Isidorus the grammarian, who says, referring to this passage, *nomen a re inditum*, Syrtes Sallustius a tractu vocari dicit. Sallust describes the Syrtes as having deep water near the land, but shallow from the sand-banks farther out, like the Downs and the Yarmouth Roads. Lucan's description may give an idea of what the ancients thought of them, ix. 303:

> Syrtes vel primam mundo Natura figuram
> Cum daret, in dubio pelagi terraeque reliquit:
> (Nam neque subsedit penitus, quo stagna profundi
> Acciperet, nec se subduxit ab aequore tellus,
> Ambigua sed lege loci jacet invia sedes,
> Aequora fracta vadis, abruptaque terra profundo,
> Et post multa sonant projecti littora fluctus:
> Sic male deseruit nullosque exegit in usus
> Hanc partem Natura sui:) vel plenior alto
> Olim Syrtis erat pelago, penitusque natabat:
> Sed rapidus Titan ponto sua lumina pascens
> Aequora subduxit zonae vicina perustae,
> Et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebo siccante repugnat.
> Mox ubi damnosum radios admoverit aevum
> Tellus Syrtis erit: nam jam brevis unda superne
> Innatat, et late periturum deficit aequor.

2. **In extrema Africa**] "At the eastern extremity, near to the frontiers of Egypt."

3. **Quorum proxima...**] "The water near the shore is very deep, the rest of the bay, is *as it may be*, some places deep, others shallow, according to tide and wind:" i.q. alta alia, alia...vadosa. Comp. for this suppression of *alius*, Tac. *Ann.*, i. 63, ut opus (alii) et alii praelium inciperent.

4. **Mare magnum**] "Stormy sea." Comp. Lucret. ii. 1, Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis. Catull. xxv. 12, velut minuta magno Deprensa navis in mari, vesaniente vento.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

1. **Per Leptitanorum negotia**] "From our commerce with the people of Leptis." *Per*, like the Gr. διὰ, has sometimes the sense of "from, for, on account of." Comp. *Jugur.* 85, qui per ambitionem probos sese simulavere. 99, ne signa quidem, uti per vigilias canere. *Fragm. Hist. Inc.* 65, multa primo per ignobilitatem, deinde per invidiam scriptorum parum celebrata sunt.

2. **Pleraque Africae**] The reading of all the MSS. It is to be remarked, however, that the grammarian Arusianus Messius cites *pleraque Africa* in illustration of the phrase *imperat hac regione*. See Corp. Gramm. i. 237, ed. Lindemann.

3. **Una specie**] "Of uniform appearance;" i.e. all sand without intermission.

4. **Habuit**] "Kept." Comp. Liv. x. 2, semper eos in armis accolae Galli habebant. *Jugur.* 91, inter dies intentus bello Numidas habuerat.

5. **Nuda gignentium**] "Devoid of vegetable life." Comp. *Jugur.* 93, of plants, quæ cuncta gignentium natura fert. It is opposed to animal life in Lactant. *de Ira Dei*, i. 13, multa esse in gignentibus et in numero animalium.

6. **Coortae**] Of winds and tempests, and hence transf. of seditions, Virg. *Aen.* i. 148. Of the sand-storms in Libya see the wild description in Lucan, ix. 455,

Regna videt pauper Nasamon errantia ventis, &c.

7. **Ob rem corruptam**] "For the detriment done to their country's interest."

8. **Aliam condicionem, etc.**] "Some other means of arriving at an agreement, as long as it should be a fair one."

9. **Carthaginiensibus**] *Carthaginiensium*, the MSS. with few exceptions; but such a construction seems inadmissible.

10. **Ibi**] Scil. *in illis finibus quos pop. suo peterent*; by attraction.

11. **Aras consecravere**] For the *Philaenon arae*, see above, c. 19. Such *arae* were not raised as sacrificial altars, but were pillars erected for monuments. Thus Alexander the Great erected twelve altars at the farthest limit of his advance into India. Curt. ix. 3, *erigi duodecim* aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suae, jussit. Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. 13, quae sit ad memoriam aeternitatis ara virtutis.

CHAPTER LXXX.

1. **Ordines habere**] "To keep their ranks," i.q. *servare, observare, custodire.*

2. **Filia Bocchi**] Jugurtha had married the daughter of Bocchus. Comp. Flor. iii. 1. 17, fraudulentissimus regum fraude soceri sui in insidias deductus est. So also Plutarch, *vit. Sull.* 3; *Mar.* 10. Nevertheless, some of the best MSS. read *Boccho*, reversing the affinity.

3. **ea necessitudo]** "That tie of family connexion."

4. **Sed reges eo amplius]** "So much the more, inasmuch as they have greater means:" referring to *pro opibus quisque.*

5. **Pro socia obtinet]** "Takes the place of a partner in the throne."

CHAPTER LXXXI.

1. **Placitum]** "Acceptable, agreed upon." This participle is mostly poetical. Comp. Virg. *Aen.* iv. 38, placitone etiam pugnabis amori? But also used by Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 66, nec tamen Caesar placitas semel artes mutavit. The neuter, *placitum*, as a substantive, "a decree," is found in the elder Pliny.

2. **Profunda avaritia]** Comp. Cic. *in Pison.* 21, profundae libidines. Senec. *Epist.* 89, profunda et insatiabilis gula.

3. **Aliis talibus]** We have already had *alia talia* in c. 44, and again in 64, 72, in this place, and once more in c. 35. Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 228:

> Talibus atque aliis in quae dolor ipse disertum fecerat.

4. **Operae pretium]** Scil. *sibi*, "worth his while." Sometimes *operae* stands alone, sometimes *pretium.*

5. **Bocchi pacem imminuere]** "To disturb the peace which Bocchus had hitherto kept with Rome:" *imminuere*, i.q. *dissolvere.*

CHAPTER LXXXII.

1. **Cognitis Mauris]** "After reconnoitring the Moors:" i.e. "when he should have ascertained what kind of enemy the Moors would prove, what was their manner of fighting, &c."

2. **Ex commodo pugnam facere]** "To engage at a favourable opportunity."

3. **Molliter pati]** "In an unmanly way." Caes. *Bell. Gall.* iii. 19, Gallorum animus mollis est ad calamitates perferendas.

4. **In superbiam vertebant]** Properly, "transferred or rendered into pride," i.e. attributed to pride, instead of the real feeling.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

1. **Sumi facile]** Comp. Tacit. *Hist.* iv. 69, sumi bellum etiam ab ignavis, strenuissimi cujusque periculo geri.

2. **Conventura]** "Would be settled amicably." Things are said *convenire* when both parties agree about them: so, pax convenit. Liv. xxiv. 27, Marcellus posse rem convenire ratus.

3. **Contra]** "In reply to."

4. **Bellum intactum trahi]** "The war was protracted, and nothing done." *Bellum trahi* is a common phrase; but *intactum* is added *per oxymoron*; being a contradiction in sense for the sake of emphasis. "The war was protracted, or indeed not even commenced."

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

1. **Cupientissima plebe]** i.q. *optime cupiente*, "with the warmest approbation of the commonalty."

2. **Ei provinciam Numid. populus jussit]** i.e. *decrevit*. *Jubere*, with the accus. of the object, expresses a decree of the people in the comitia. Cic. *pro Balb.* 17, respondeam legem populum Rom. jussisse. Liv. xxi. 17, quod bellum populus Rom. jussisset. The person in whose interest the decree is made is in the dative.

3. **Populus]** "The Roman people," comprehending all classes, and opposed to *plebs*, "the commonalty." *Populus*, according to Niebuhr, is properly the patrician class, opposed to the plebeian; but this correct usage was neglected by the best authors, and perhaps they were not fully aware of it.

4. **Multus ...instare]** Comp. the Greek phrase in Thuc. iv. 22, Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο.

5. **Illis dolentia]** i.e. *quae illi dolerent*, or *dolorem afferrent*, "causing pain." Comp. Ovid, *Met.* iv. 246, nil illo fertur ...vidisse dolentius. So vulnus dolet, i.e. dolorem facit.

6. **Plerosque militiae, paucos fama cognitos]** "Most of them known to him in actual service, a few only by report;" *militiae* is the genitive of place, like *domi*, and is equivalent to *foris*, as those who serve in the army serve abroad. The double construction with the same verb is found elsewhere in Sallust: as *Catil.* 33, plerique patriae sed omnes fama atque fortunis expertes. Comp. *Jugur.* 74.

7. **Ambiendo**] "Soliciting man by man, as in a canvass."

8. **Emeritis stipendiis**] "Those who had completed their term of service:" properly, "who had earned all their annual stipends for military service." At this period the legitimate term of service was twenty years for the foot and ten for the horse. The Roman legionary first received pay A.U. 347, according to Livy, iv. 59, additum deinde ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, quum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset. Niebuhr (*Hist. Rom.* ii. 438, Engl. Tr.) questions this statement, believing that pay was not given till a later period.

9. **Plebi militia volenti**] This dat. *volenti* is a Graecism. Comp. Aesch. *Prom. V.* 23, *ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι ἡ ποικιλείμων νὺξ ἀποκρύψει φάος*, and among prose writers Thuc. ii. 3; vii. 35, and other authors. It is frequently imitated in Latin, e.g. Liv. xxi. 50; Tac. *Ann.* i. 59; *Hist.* iii. 43; *Agric.* 18. See also above, *Jugur.* 4, uti militibus labor volentibus esset.

10. **Belli usum**] i.e. *ea quae bello usui sunt*, "the requisites of war," i.e. "men." Comp. Cic. *in Verr.* II. iv. 5, illum usum provinciae supplere.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

1. **Scio ego**] The pronoun is expressed for emphasis. "I for my part." Comp. below, *equidem ego.*

2. **Mihi contra ea videtur**] "To me the opposite course to this seems the best."

3. **Administrari...debere**] Governed by *videtur* understood from the preceding clause.

4. **Cum maximo beneficio vestro**] "In conjunction with the very great favour, i.e. the consulate, &c. which you have conferred upon me." Comp. below, *in max. vestro beneficio.*

5. **Eos**] There is peculiar force in the pronoun: "such men as you would not wish to offend."

6. **Opinione...asperius est**] "Is more difficult than people think."

7. **Nam alia infirma sunt**] "For my other supports are feeble:" supply *tutamina mea.*

8. **Procedunt**] i. q. *bene cedunt*, "succeed." Comp. Cic. *de Orat.* i. 27, nonnunquam summis oratoribus non satis ex sententia eventum dicendi procedere.

9. **Illi frustra sint**] "They may be disappointed." Comp. above, c. 7, 14, and the phrase which follows, *ita...fui.*

10. **Consueta habeam**] "Am constantly accustomed to:" the continuative form of *habeo.*

11. **In potestatibus**] "In the enjoyment of magistracies."

12. **Temperare**] Scil. *sibi.*

13. **Bene facere**] Scil. *reipublicae*, i.e. *bene mereri de republ.*, "the honourable discharge of my duties in the state has become natural to me through habit."

14. **Ex illo globo nobilitatis**] "Of that band of nobles:" *globus*, a military term, implying a small number in dense array, used here invidiously of the nobility, as a handful of conspirators.

15. **Veteris prosapiae**] "Of ancient lineage:" *prosapia*, and *prosapies*, from *sapo* (hence *dissipo*) to scatter, spread; figurative from the spreading branches of a tree. The word was antique in Cicero's time (ut utamur veteri verbo! Cic. *Timae.* 11. (*fragm. Orell.*) and obsolete in that of Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* i. 6).

16. **Nullius stipendii**] "Who have gained no pay," i.e. "have seen no service."

17. **Sui**] Added *emphasis gratia*; "a duty which should be his own, and no man's else."

18. **Imperare jussistis**] Some MSS. read *imperatorem*, which is more emphatic, and may be compared with Liv. i. 17, quum populus regem jussisset. i. 22; iii. 20.

19. **Homines praeposteri**] *Praep.* in its proper sense, from *prae* and *post*, "who put *the cart before the horse*;" besides, contemptuously.

20. **Gerere quam fieri, etc.**] *Gerere magistratum*, "the discharge of magistracy," succeeds in point of time to *fieri*, i.e. *creari consulem*, "being appointed a magistrate;" whereas shewing oneself fit for the appointment ought properly to precede the being appointed.

21. **Partem vidi, alia egomet gessi**] Comp. Virg. *Aen.* ii. 5, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi, Et quorum pars magna fui. The adv. *partim* might stand equally well with the genitive, but there is no sufficient authority for it in this place.

22. **Illi literis**] Comp. Cic. pro *Font.* 15. C. Marius, P. Didius, Q. Catulus...non literis homines ad rei militaris scientiam, sed rebus gestis ac victoriis eruditi.

23. **Vos existimate]** Emphatic: "judge ye for yourselves."

24. **Fortissimum quemque generosiss.]** Comp. Juvenal, viii. 20, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.

25. **Vestros honores]** "The honours you have to bestow."

26. **Ita hos petunt]** "So seek the same," i.e. your honours.

27. **Falsi sunt]** "Are deceived."

28. **Posteris lumen]** Many MSS. read *quasi lumen;* and this particle is frequently inserted, to soften the harshness of a metaphor: as Cic. *de Off.* ii. 9, honestum decorumque quasi perlucet ex iis quas commemoravi virtutibus.

29. **In conscientiam duceret]** "Construe into a consciousness of guilt." Comp. above, ch. 82, in superbiam vertebant. 92, in virtutem trahebantur.

30. **Ex animi mei sententia]** The pronoun, omitted in many MSS., seems to be required in solemn asseverations of this kind. Comp. Cic. *de Off.* iii. 29, quod ex animi tui sententia juraris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro, id non facere perjurium est. And A. Gell. iv. 20, verba ita erant concepta ut tu ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes.

31. **Fidei causa]** Scil. *dandae*, "in confirmation of what I say."

32. **Hastas, vexillum, phaleras]** The *hasta* was presented to deserving soldiers (Festus in voc.), and was called *pura*, as having no iron head. The *vexillum* was a streamer at the end of a spear: *phalerae*, trappings for horses: the *alia dona militaria* were *torques* and *catellae*, chains, *armillae*, bracelets, *fibulae*, clasps, *coronae*, crowns or chaplets of various kinds. Most of these are enumerated among the trophies of Siccius Dentatus, by A. Gellius, ii. 11. Comp. Juvenal, xvi. ult., laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes.

33. **Neque literas Graecas didici]** Plutarch, who has made much use of this oration in describing the character of Marius, repeats that he despised the manners and literature of the Greeks on the account here mentioned, that they did not save that people from conquest by the Romans, and imputes to this morose pride much of the barbarity of his actions. *ὥσπερ οὖν Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σκυθρωποτέρῳ δοκοῦντι τὸ ἦθος εἶναι, πολλάκις εἰώθει λέγειν ὁ Πλάτων· ὦ μακάριε Ξενόκρατες θύε ταῖς χάρισιν· οὕτως εἴ τις ἔπεισε Μάριον θύειν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς*

Μούσαις καὶ χάρισιν, οὐκ ἂν εὐπρεπεστάταις στρατηγίαις καὶ πολιτείαις ἀμορφοτάτην ἐπέθηκε κορωνίδα, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλαρχίας ἀώρου, καὶ πλεονεξιῶν ἀπαρηγορήτων, εἰς ὠμότατον καὶ ἀγριώτατον γῆρας ἐξοκείλας. Plut. in *Mar.* 2. The Pseudo-Sallust, *Ep. ad Caes. de Ordin. Republ.* has the same idea: Quippe qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserint, *scilicet* eorum praecepta imperium haberi posse?

34. **Civile**] "Befitting a citizen," moderate and humane; the condescension of superiors to their inferiors. Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 72, Non tamen ideo faciebat fidem civilis animi. Lucan, vii. 267,

Plebeiaque toga modicum componere fastus.

35. **Dominum non imperatorem**] Martial says of the emperor Trajan: Hic non est dominus sed imperator, Sed justissimus omnium senator. Marking the essential distinction of the legitimate authority of the commander of an army and the self-will of the master of a family of slaves.

36. **Repetere**] Used of exacting payment of a debt. *Jugur.* 96, Nulla aes mutuum ab nullo repetere. Cic. *Tusc.* i. 39; *ad Div.* xi. 28, etc.

37. **Histrionem**] "A buffoon or dancer for the amusement of guests at table." Livy derives the word from the Tuscan *hister*. vii. 2, Quia hister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum. For the introduction of this species of luxury, and of artists in cookery, &c. see Livy, xxxix. 6. Comp. Macrob. *Saturn.* ii. 13.

38. **Habeo**] i.e. in this place, *possideo*. The *villicus*, or bailiff, was a praedial slave of rough manners and without education.

39. **Munditias**] "Elegancies." Comp. Liv. xxxiv. 7, munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec foeminarum insignia sunt, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt majores nostri.

40. **Sudorem, pulverem**] The Romans living in a warm climate generally describe active endurance as the power of bearing heat and dust, while we northerns more commonly speak of endurance of cold. On the other hand, we call a lazy drone a chimney-corner fellow; the Romans described him as *umbratilis*, one who sought the shade for coolness and repose.

41. **Militaris aetas**] "Age for military service," i.e. from 17 to 46.

42. **Juxta geram**] "I will ever keep my own interests and yours closely conjoined."

43. **Decebat]** The imperf. indic. follows the subjunc. implying the certainty of the event which depends upon the antecedent condition. "Even though all these things were doubtful or distant, yet undoubtedly it is always fitting that good men should succour the commonwealth." Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Manil.* 17, quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat diligendus atque mittendus.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

1. **Non more majorum, neque ex classibus]** Two particulars are here mentioned in which Marius forsook the ancient institution: instead of convening the people in the Campus Martius, and calling them by their centuries for enlistment, he allowed them to offer themselves indiscriminately—uti cujusque lubido erat—for service: and instead of selecting the soldiers exclusively from the five superior classes, arranged according to their census, he enlisted most of his men from the sixth or lowest of all, the members of which, having no fortunes, were only polled, *capite censi*. This practice was continued in later times, and the Roman soldiers, instead of having a stake and interest in the institutions of the commonwealth, became for the most part needy men, who served only for pay and plunder. But the concentration of property in fewer hands, and the diminution of the class of small proprietors, rendered this course of proceeding imperative. Comp. Plutarch. *Mar.* c. 9.

2. **Inopia bonorum]** "For want of good men," i.e. men of substance.

3. **Auctus]** "Advanced," i.e. in power, fame, or honours.

4. **Et homini**, etc.] A new clause, not dependent upon the preceding *quod*, but expressing the writer's own judgment on Marius's motives.

5. **Neque sua curae]** i. q. *et sua non curae.*

6. **Cum]** Signifies "on condition of." So Cic. *Tusc.* i. 49, multis videmus optabiles mortes fuisse cum gloria.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

1. **Praeda]** "Objects for booty."

2. **Diversi]** "In different directions."

3. **Futuros]** For this pregnant combination of the adverb with the verb, compare *Jugur.* 7, frustra erat. 14, tutius essem: and other places noticed above. *Laxius* refers to their discipline, *licentius* to their behaviour.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

1. **Metellus interea, etc.**] For the honours paid to Metellus see c. 45, note 1. At a later period he was driven into exile by the influence of a tribune named Saturninus, and once more restored to his country, notwithstanding the opposition of Marius.

2. **Contra spem suam**] "Contrary to his expectation."

3. **In itinere**] "On their way."

4. **Armis exuerat**] "Had stripped of his arms," i.e. had put to flight and compelled to cast away his arms. Comp. Liv. xxii. 21; Caes. *B. G.* iii. 6.

5. **Belli patrandi**] "Such as would bring the war to a close." Comp. Liv. xxxix. 16, judicabant nihil aeque dissolvendae religionis esse.

6. **Pro hostibus et adversus se**] "Advantageous to the enemy and disadvantageous to himself."

7. **Solitus**] Supply *fuerit*, implied in *consueverit*. Comp. *Jugur.* 112, ceterum dolo an vere cunctatus parum comperimus; where supp. *promiserit*, from the preceding clause.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

1. **In manus venturum**] "Would engage." Tac. *Hist.* iv. 71, ut ventum in manus deturbati praecipitantur.

2. **Magnum atque valens**] "Large in size and abounding in resources."

3. **Capsa**] A city lying between the Bagrada and the lacus Tritonis. Strabo calls it the treasury (γαζοφυλάκιον) of Jugurtha.

4. **Hercules Libys**] The Libyan Hercules is the same as the Tyrian and the Phoenician, Herod. ii. 44: the legendary discoverer and conqueror of Africa in the Carthaginian mythology.

5. **Immunes**] "Free from contributions."

6. **Una**] Scil. *aqua*, "a single spring of water;" *jugi*, "unfailing." *Jugis* differs from *perennis*; the one is "unfailing," the other "ever flowing," from *per* and *amnis*. Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 654, *Amne* perenne latens *Anna* Perenna vocor. Doederlein, *Synon.* ii. 13, 51, derives the word *jugis* from *dis*.

CHAPTER XC.

1. **Pabulo...quam arvo student]** "Use pasture more than arable land."

2. **Ad oppidum Laris]** This is probably the old acc. plu. for *Lares*. The same place seems to be mentioned by St Augustine under the form *Laribus*.

3. **Praedabundum]** "In the course of a predatory expedition."

CHAPTER XCI.

1. **Distribuerat...curabat]** The plusq. perf. marks the idea in the mind of the writer, that the distribution had been already made, when the making of the skins into bags began: as if he had said, ex coriis pecorum, quae quotidie distribuerat, utres uti fierent curabat.

2. **Sexto die, quum,** etc.] i. q. *sexto die, ex quo*, "the sixth day after arriving inclusive." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* x. 23, collegam triduo, quum has dabam literas, exspectabam. xv. 14, multi anni sunt quum ille in aere meo est. The same might be expressed by *post sextum diem quam.*

3. **Ubi dies coepit]** "At break of day." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 25, simul coeptus dies.

4. **Res trepidae]** "The confusion of their affairs," or "into which they were thrown." Comp. Virg. *Aen.* i. 563, Res dura et regni novitas, "the difficulty of my position."

5. **Non avaritia, neque scelere]** "Neither from lust of plunder, nor from a wanton disregard of law and usage." *Scelus* is the breach of a positive law, human or divine.

6. **Coercitum]** i.e. *quod coerceri potest*, "to be controlled." See on ch. 76, and comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 30, delatores genus hominum poenis quidem nunquam satis coercitum.

CHAPTER XCII.

1. **Trahebantur]** This word signifying here an *improper*, *illegitimate*, application, refers properly to the latter clause, and only by *zeugma* to the former.

4. **Deorum nutu...portendi]** "Revealed to him by divine decree." The whole passage seems to be imitated by Q. Curtius, iii. jam primum nihil sine divina ope aggredi videbatur; nam cum esset praesto ubique fortuna, temeritas in gloriam cesserat.

3. **Non eadem asperitate...haud secus difficilem**] "Not so perilous, but equally (not less, see on c. 20) difficult." *Asper*, fig. fierce, violent, destructive; in which sense it is often joined with *bellum*, *fata*, &c.

4. **Inter ceteram planitiem**] i. q. *in cetera planitie.* Comp. c. 88, inter ingentes solitudines oppidum magnum.

5. **Administrare**] Subaud. *operi.*

CHAPTER XCIII.

1. **Aversum proeliantibus**] "On the opposite side to where they were fighting."

2. **Animum vertit**] "Seized his mind," or "struck him."

3. **Coaluerat**] The prep. is merely intensive, as in Suet. *Aug.* 92, palmam in compluvium...transtulit, utque coalesceret magno opere curavit. Ovid, *Art. Am.* ii. 649, Dum novus in viridi coalescit cortice ramus. And fig. Tac. *Hist.* i. 21, dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis nondum coaluisset: "had not yet grown to maturity."

4. **Castelli planitiem perscribit**] Draws a plan of the fortification as it lay flat beneath him. By *perscribit* is generally understood, "reconnoitres," "examines," i. q. *perlustrat.* But authority for such a sense is wanting, and there seems to be no difficulty in supposing that the man drew some rude plan. But the passage is probably corrupt: *in castelli planitiem pervenit*, is the reading adopted by Kritz, with the authority of a few MSS.

CHAPTER XCIV.

1. **Qui ascensuri erant**] The reading of many MSS. seems preferable to the common reading *qui centuriis praeerant:* it is not the four centurions only, but the whole body, nine in number, who are spoken of.

2. **Offensa**] Comp. Liv. vii. 36, miles offenso scuto praebuit sonitum.

3. **Dubia nisu**] i.e. *nisui.* Comp. Propertius, iv. 4. 81, Mons erat adscensu dubius.

4. **Potissimus tentare**] "He tried first of all."

5. **Digrediens**] "Stepping aside," i.e. to leave room for the others to ascend.

6. **Signa canere**] Understand *cornicines* as the subject.

7. **Vadere**] "To march" or "stride." Lucan, ii. in fin. Vadis adhuc ingens populis comitantibus exul.

CHAPTER XCV.

1. **Quos**] Referring to *equites*, understood in *equitatus*.

2. **Ex Latio**] i.e. from the *socii Latini nominis*, such Italian towns as had the Latin franchise.

3. **L. Sisenna**] This historian, one of the Cornelian gens, and partial perhaps on that account to Sulla, wrote a history of the social war and the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. He was born about 118 B.C., and was praetor in 78, the year in which Sulla died. Cicero speaks of him, *de Leg.* i. 2, *Brut.* 76, and esteemed him superior as an historian to his predecessors. About 150 fragments of his great work are preserved, but very short and unconnected.

4. **Familia prope jam extincta**] So Velleius, ii. 17, says of him; L. Corn. Sulla natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces, quum familiae ejus claritudo intermissa esset, diu ita se gessit, ut nullam petendi consulatum cogitationem habere videretur. Sallust speaks of the *familia* of the Sullae, a branch of the Rufini. The Cornelii were a numerous and distinguished *gens* in early times, and were subdivided into several *familiae*, e.g. patrician: Arvina, Blasio, Cethegus, Cinna, Cossus, Dolabella, Lentulus, Maluginensis, Mammula, Merenda, Merula, Rufinus, Scapula, Scipio, Sisenna, Sulla. Of these the Lentuli and Scipios had various *agnomens*, distinguishing individuals. The plebeian Cornelii were Galli and Balbi. Sulla introduced a vast number of his own clients and dependents into the Cornelian gens, and under the empire it was undoubtedly the most extensive of all the Roman houses.

5. **Otio luxurioso esse**] Sub *coepit*, i. q. *erat*, "debauched in his intervals of leisure." The gross debauchery imputed to Sulla (but we must remember how many enemies he had made) is painted in strong colours by Plutarch in his life. He was said to have died of a loathsome disease brought on, we may suppose, by intemperance.

6. **Nisi quod**] Complete the sentence thus: *nisi huic laudi repugnat quod.* Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 33, ipsa Agrippina paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate...indomitum animum in bonum trahebat, i.e. quae res non poterat non damnosa fieri

nisi salubrem temperationem hoc attulit quod &c. xiv. 14, notos quoque equites operas arenae promittere subegit donis ingentibus (supply, qui propter turpem pecuniae cupidinem detestabiles videntur) nisi (scil. eo excusandi sunt) quod merces ab eo qui jubere potest vim necessitatis affert. Kritz.

7. **De uxore potuit honestius consuli**] "His conjugal affairs might have been more decently managed." Plutarch mentions his marrying as many as five wives, which seems, notwithstanding the facility of divorce and laxity in such matters among the Romans, to have been considered a scandalous excess. He repudiated Caelia, expelled Metella from his house on her death-bed, and degraded himself by his last marriage with Valeria. See Plut. *Sull.* 35.

8. **Amicitia facilis**] "Ready in proffering his friendship."

9. **Altitudo ingenii**] "Deep reserve of character." Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 25, exercenda est etiam altitudo animi, and Tac. *Annal.* iii. 48, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, altitudine animi. Cicero gives the Greek word *βαθύτης* as corresponding with it: *ad Att.* v. 10. Kritz *in loc.*

10. **Felicissimo**] Sulla obtained the title of Felix, for his uniform success in war, which afterwards gave rise to many ironical allusions. Lucan, ii. 221, speaking of the proscriptions, Hisne Salus rerum, Felix his Sulla vocari, His meruit tumulum medio sibi tollere Campo? *Felix* is a word of good omen, not to be predicated of a tyrant however successful.

CHAPTER XCVI.

1. **Igitur**] After a digression, "To return, then."

2. **In paucis tempestatibus**] i.e. *intra parvum tempus.* Comp. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 40, binas in singulis annis conversiones facit. So *in brevi spatio* or *in brevi* for *intra.*

3. **Ut illi quam plurimi deberent**] *Illi* for *sibi*: a negligence not unfrequent: comp. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 7, quibus autem haec sunt inter eos communia: *pro Rosc. Am.* 34; *pro Sest.* 24; Corn. Nepos, *Hannib.* 11. At Eumenes...nihil reperit nisi quod ad irridendum eum pertineret.

4. **Joca**] Only this form used in the time of Cicero: afterwards *joci, jocos.*

CHAPTER XCVII.

1. **Belli atque pacis rationes trahere**] "Was slowly weighing the arguments for war or peace:" *trahere* implies the delay

and hesitation of his counsels. Comp. the shades of meaning in the word in c. 92 and again in 98.

2. **Nullo impedimento]** Priscian, vi. 7. 36, vetustissimi solent omnium in *-ius* terminantium genitivum, etiam in *-i* genitivum et in *-o* dativum proferre. Cic. *pro Mur.* 12 (if the reading is correct), ei quoque carmen compositum est, quum ceteris rebus absurdum, tum vero nullo usui utrisque. Caes. *B. C.* ii. 7, nullo usui. *B. G.* vi. 13, nullo concilio adhibetur. But it may be the ablative in this place, as in Cic. *ad Att.* x. 18, majore impedimento fuerunt."

3. **Simul—et]** "No sooner—than." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 25, simul coeptus dies, et aderant in semisomnos.

4. **Aut instrui aut sarcinas colligere]** "Before the army was arrayed for fighting, or had (even) put the baggage together" (as usual before action). *Sarcina*, the soldier's pack or bundle: Juvenal, ii. 103, speculum civilis sarcina belli.

5. **Latrocinio ... proelio]** This opposition is frequently employed. Comp. Liv. xxix. 6, latrociniis magis quam justo bello gerebatur res. Cic. *in Catil.* i. 10.

6. **Veteres (novique)]** The last word should be put in brackets as suspicious, though found in all the MSS., except one. It is explained, "the Romans being veterans and recruits, and on that account skilful in warfare," i.e. because they were not all recruits. Sallust had used a similar combination, ch. 87, sic brevi spatio novi veteresque coaluere, et virtus omnium aequalis facta: from which *novique* may have been foisted into this passage.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

1. **Manu consulere, etc.]** "Since he could not aid his men as a general by giving orders, he aided them as a private soldier, by taking part in the combat personally." So *ante* ch. 39, armatus dedecore potius quam manu salutem quaesiverat.

2. **Pro se]** "In their own favour.'

3. **Ex copia rerum consilium trahit]** "Drawn out his plans from the various resources before him;" implying difficulty of choice rather than hesitation.

4. **Neque minus]** i. q. *non minus: neque* properly is equivalent to *et non;* but the copula is out of place here.

5. **Pleno gradu**] "In quick time." Veget. i. 9, militari gradu xx. millia passuum horis quinque, duntaxat aestivis, conficienda sunt. *Pleno* autem *gradu*, qui citatior est, xxiv millia peragenda sunt. Quicquid addideris jam *cursus* est, cujus spatium non potest definiri.

6. **Feroces**] "In their arrogance."

CHAPTER XCIX.

1. **Per vigilias . canere**] The night was divided into four watches, measured by the clepsydra or waterclock, and the changes were indicated by the sound of the trumpet and horn. Veget. iii. 8, a tubicine omnes vigiliae committuntur, et finitis horis a cornicine revocantur: per vigilias, "for the watches," i.e. on account of. Comp. for this use of *per*, c. 79 and 85.

CHAPTER C.

1. **Quadrato agmine**] "In a hollow square," i.e. arranged for defence in front, flanks and rear, with the baggage in the middle. The figure however was not a regular square, but an oblong.

2. **Dextimos**] "The extreme right." Priscian, iii. 3. 19, speaks both of *dextimus* and *sinistimus*.

3. **Minime cari**] "Whose lives were least valued." The primary sense of *carus* is "precious," as opposed to *vilis*, "worthless;" in a secondary sense "beloved."

4. **Item**] i. q. *etiam*, "compelled his men also to hold themselves prepared."

5. **Neque secus, atque, etc**.] "He entrenched himself after each day's march not less diligently than he marched."

6. **Non tam diffidentia futurum quae**] i. q. *fore quae*. Comp. A. Gell. i. 7, who shews by many instances that the fut. in -rus was used by old writers as an infinitive, without regard to concord in number or gender: e.g. Laberius in Gemellis: non putavi hoc eam facturum. This unusual construction has perplexed the transcribers, and occasioned great variations in the MSS. *diffidentia*, "from distrust."

7. **Malo**] i.e. *poena*. Comp. Terent. *Andr.* i. 1. 44, malo coactus qui suum officium facit. Liv. ii. 54, malo domandam tribunitiam potestatem.

8. **Nisi tamen]** i. q. sed tamen, with a parenthetic clause: "But, however this may be, he conducted the public affairs as well as if he had exercised the harshest discipline." *Rem publicam bene gerere;* i. q. *rebus gestis bonum publicum augere.*

CHAPTER CI.

1. **Citi]** i.e. *citato cursu.* Comp. *pleno gradu*, note 5, c. 98.

2. **Aeque]** i.e. *aequo modo paratis*, "He calculated that some of the whole number, having all an equal chance, would arrive."

3. **Quos...neque]** i. q. *quos...quique non.* Comp. Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 2, finem definiebas id esse quo omnia, quae recte fierent, referrentur, neque ad ipsum usquam referretur: i.e. quodque ipsum nusquam referretur. Terent. *Adelph.* i. 2. 4, quem neque pudet quidquam nec metuit quemquam: i.e. quique non metuit.

4. **Numida...ad pedites]** Jugurtha turns to the troops which Volux had just brought up. He addresses them in Latin, in order that the Romans with whom they were engaged might hear what he said: for it was the Romans rather than his own men that he wished to deceive. *Milites*, which follows, is, "the Roman soldiers."

5. **Atrocitate rei]** i.e. by the mere thought how shocking such a disaster would be, without considering the credibility of the asserter.

6. **Barbari animos tollere]** What Jugurtha said in Latin may have been interpreted to the Numidians, or his mere action may have encouraged them, still more the evident consternation of the Romans.

7. **Tum spectaculum horribile,** etc.] This passage is closely copied by Tacitus, *Agric.* 37, tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox spectaculum, etc.

CHAPTER CII.

1. **Post diem quintum, quam]** An anomalous construction for *die quinto post quam.*

2. **Rex Bocche]** This commencement of a speech with the name of the person addressed, and the prefix of "king," neither of which are usual, imply peculiar respectfulness.

3. **Persequi**] More properly *persequendi*; but the infin. follows the idea of *non cupere*, implied in *demere sollicitudinem*.

4. **Inopi**] This word may be enclosed in brackets. If it agree with *populo*, it must mean that the Romans had continued feeble from the first; if with *principio*, it should be written *inope*, and transposed, *ab inope principio*. But it is supported by the MSS. generally. *Inopes*, written perhaps *inopi*, is a plausible conjecture.

5. **Offensae minimum, gratia par**] "Very little opportunity for quarrelling, and as much regard and favour as if we were your near neighbours."

6. **Parentes**] "Subjects." See note on *Jugur.* 3.

7. **Cui scilicet placuisse**] "Whom it has pleased." The infin. governed by *scilicet*, i.e. *scire licet*; as *Jugur.* 113, quae scilicet...tacita pectoris patefecisse. *Fr. Hist.* i. 19, at scilicet eos...gratiam ab eo peperisse.

8. **Pro delicto suo**] "In excuse for his fault."

9. **Unde vi Jugurtham expulerit**] Many MSS. and Edd. read *expulerat*. Bocchus had not expelled Jugurtha from any part of his dominions; but this latter reading would make the author assert the fact. *Expulerit* may imply that Bocchus made the assertion, which was a false one. Translate: "A part of Numidia, says he, from which he pretends to have expelled Jugurtha, had become his own by the right of conquest." Glareanus conjectured, *et inde Romanos expulerit*; and other corrections have been proposed; but there seems to be no satisfactory way of explaining the passage.

CHAPTER CIII.

1. **Turrim...quo**] See note 3 on c. 66, Vagenses, quo Metellus praesidium imposuerat.

2. **Praesidium**] According to the construction, merely in apposition to *perfugas*; but with a pregnant sense, i.e. "so as to be a garrison." Comp. Tac. *Ann.* i. 3, Augustus subsidia dominationi Claudium Marcellum...et M. Agrippam extulit. Liv. i. 8, Romulus locum...asylum aperuit.

3. **Venerant**] i. q. *evenerant*. Comp. Liv. i. 7, priori Remo augurium venisse fertur.

4. **Sine decore**] "Without the ensigns of their office as ambassadors."

5. **Pro vanis hostibus**] "As enemies trying to impose upon him with the false pretence of being accredited on an embassy."

6. **Ut meriti erant**] "As they might reasonably have expected," coming as they did without credentials.

7. **Largitio**] "The giving of largess;" i.e. treating with a view to corruption.

8. **Munificus nemo putabatur, nisi pariter volens**] i.e. *bene volens:* "no man was deemed liberal, but he was supposed to be to the same extent gracious and kind:" i.e. in those days people were so simple that they conceived, if a man gave his money freely, it must be from natural kindliness of disposition; they had no suspicion of any ulterior object.

9. **Aut utilia aut benevolentiae**] "Either advantageous to the Romans, or likely to conciliate their favour." *Benevolentiae*, the dative: implying *object* or *intention*.

CHAPTER CIV.

1. **Ea...placuere**] i.e. *utrumque placuit*, both *potestatem eundi dari*, and *inducias concedi*.

2. **Stipendium**] "The pay for the soldier from the public treasury." *Stipendium*, properly "pay for service performed," *salarium*, "provision for service undertaken."

3. **Deprecati sunt**] In a pregnant sense: i. q. *postquam deprecantes dixerunt:* "they urged in excuse."

4. **Delicti gratiam**] "Pardon for his fault." Comp. *Catil.* 52, qui mihi atque animo meo nullius unquam delicti gratiam fecissem. *Fr. Hist.* iii. 34, post reditum eorum quibus senatus belli Lepidani gratiam fecerat.

CHAPTER CV.

1. **Funditorum Balearium**] "Slingers from the Baleares,' the islands Majorca, Minorca and Iviza. The Romans employed the services of these people as skirmishers. Comp. Caes. *Bel. Gal.* ii. 7; Flor. iii. 8; Liv. xxviii. 37, etc. Their name was supposed to be derived from the Greek *βάλλειν*.

2. **Cohors Peligna**] i.e. a cohort of auxiliaries from the country of the Peligni in the centre of Italy. These auxiliaries are mentioned also in Livy, xxv. 14; xliv. 40.

3. **Cum velitaribus armis**] Accoutred as *velites*, or light skirmishers, with a sword and a bundle of javelins for attack, and a broad shield, *parma*, without heavy armour, for defence.

4. **Efficiebant**] Governing *metum* directly, and *numerum* by zeugma: "made their number to appear greater than it really was, and caused fear on the part of their enemies." With *metum efficiebant* comp. *Catil.* 12, plus timoris quam periculi effecerant.

5. **Sese expedire**] "To lay aside the *impedimenta*," "to make ready for battle."

6. **Intendere**] Properly of stringing bows: here generally "to prepare their weapons."

CHAPTER CVI.

1. **Interiturae vitae parceret**] Comp. Lucan, i. 462, ignavum rediturae parcere vitae: an expression caught, it would seem, from this place. We have already remarked the frequent echo of Sallust in Lucan.

2. **Coenatos esse**] Sub. *jubet*, "to have done their supper:" the perf. implies the immediateness with which the order was to be executed.

3. **Ante eos**] "In front of them," i.e. of the Roman forces. As the *equites Mauri* themselves formed part of these forces we should rather expect the reflexive pron. *se*.

4. **Manu vindicandum**] "They should avenge themselves by putting him to death."

5. **Apud illum**] "With him:" *apud* implying close local connexion. Comp. *Jugur.* 24, si ulla apud vos memoria remanet avi mei Masinissae.

CHAPTER CVII.

1. **Ab inermis pedibus**] The form *inermus* seems to be used indifferently with inermis by the earlier writers. Transl. "from feet which bear no weapons." Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 103, qui clam, qui semper inermis Rem gerit: "fights his battles without weapons."

2. **Coecum corpus**] "The blind part of the body," i.e. "the back." The expression is taken from Xenophon, *Cyrop.* iii. 3. 45, μωρὸν γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας.

3. **Ex castris abire**] Comp. 35, Massiva profugus ex castris abierat. 68, Metellus e conspectu abit.

4. **Haberet ..ejus**] *Illum* referring to Jugurtha: *patre suo*, his (Volux's) father, Bocchus; *ipse filius*, Volux himself.

5. **Ea res, ut in tali negotio, probata]** "This course, considering there was no better under the circumstances, was approved." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xii. 2, nonnihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum: *de Senect.* 4, multae erant in Q. Fabio, ut in homine Romano, literae.

CHAPTER CVIII.

1. **Orator]** i. q. *legatus*, as frequently in Livy. Comp. i. 15; ii. 13; v. 15; xxxii. 17; xxxvii. 24, etc. Virg. *Aen.* vii. 153; viii. 505; xi. 100, 331.

2. **Consulta...integra habere]** "That he had preserved inviolate the covenant existing between them."

3. **Neu Jugurthae legatum pertimesceret quo res communis licentius gereretur]** *Licentius*, i. q. *liberius*, "that Sulla should not, through distrust of Jugurtha's envoy, Aspar, who was to be present, refrain from a free discussion with Dabar about the affairs between himself and Bocchus." If this is the meaning, we should expect *quin* or *ne* instead of *quo*. But it would be difficult to connect this sense with what follows. Kritz's conjecture, *remoto* after *quo*, gives the contrary sense, and a much better one. Another conjectural reading is, *n. J. l. p.: cautum esse quo*, etc. In any case the passage seems corrupt.

4. **Punica fide]** "With Carthaginian bad faith," a proverbial expression applied to the Moors and Numidians as well as to the actual Carthaginians. Comp. Lucan, iv. 736, Ut Libycas metuat fraudes infectaque semper Punica bella dolis. For the proverbial bad faith attributed by the Romans to the Carthaginians, see Livy, xxi. 4; xxv. 39; xlii. 47; Flor. ii. 2. 6; Val. Max. vii. 4. 4, etc. Plautus has the phrase, Poenis Poenior. Sil. Ital. i. 5, sacri quum perfida pacti Gens Cadmea super regno certamina movit. On the other hand, *Attica fides* was an expression for good faith, Vell. ii. 23, adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit ut semper, et in omni re, quicquid sincera fide ageretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent. Ausonius, *Epist.* x. 47, contrasts *Poena* with *Graeca fides*.

5. **Attinuisse]** "Kept in play, amused or engaged." *Attinere* is commonly used in a moral sense. So Sallust, *Frag. Hist.* i. 19, ne nos in solitudine attineas. But by Tacitus frequently for forcible detention: e.g. attineri in custodia.

CHAPTER CIX.

1. **Congressi]** i. e. Sulla and Bocchus, who afterwards retire to their respective camps, *in sua castra*.

2. **Ex sententia]** "In the confidence of both," therefore such a person as either would wish to have present. Comp. Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2. 96, nec quemquam fideliorem...Nec qui magis sit servus ex sententia. A. Gell. iv. 20, quum censor dixisset: et tu ex animi tui sententia uxorem habes? not "such as you approve of," but "such as accords or sympathises with you."

CHAPTER CX.

1. **Nunquam ego ratus sum]** "I never *should have* thought." For the English conjunctive the Latin idiom here employs the indicative: comp. above, 11, quod verbum altius, quam quisquam ratus erat, descendit. Cic. *de Off.* i. 23, ingenii magni est, non committere ut aliquando dicendum sit, non putaram, "I should not have thought it."

2. **Mehercule]** "Cortius contra codd. scripsit *hercle* quae forma comicis usurpata Sallustio obtrudi non debet." Kritz *in loc.*

3. **Id imminutum]** "The loss of this."

4. **Pretium]** This word seems, from the great fluctuation of MSS., to be a gloss. *fuerit mihi*, "let it be mine."

5. **Integra]** Scil. *gratia*, "entire, undiminished;" as a score, no part of which has been repaid and obliterated.

6. **Bellum ego . neque feci, neque factum volui]** "I, for my part, neither made nor wished made."

7. **Id omitto]** "That I forego."

8. **Egrediar, intrare]** These verbs refer to the idea of boundaries implied in the mention of the river. Statius, *Sylv.* i. 3. 110, Finem Nestoreae precor egrediare senectae.

9. **Haud repulsus abibis]** Comp. Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 97, nullam patiere repulsam. *Abeo* is used, like *discedo* (comp. *Catil.* 49, victus discesserat), for the event of an attempt or contest. So Ovid, *Metam.* xiii. 278, eventus ... pugnae Quis fuit? Hector abit violatus vulnere nullo.

CHAPTER CXI.

1. **Non in gratiam habituros]** "As for his promises, they would not regard them as a means to deserve their favour, since they had already got the upper hand in war." The accus. has a *pregnant sense.* About half the MSS. read *in gratia*, with the same meaning. See below, note on *in potestatem habuisset*, c. 112.

2. **Negitare]** "Repeatedly denied," urging various excuses in succession, as follows.

3. **Ad simulandam pacem**] "For making pretended overtures of peace."

CHAPTER CXII.

1. **Condicionibus**] "On mutual terms," as opposed to *arbitrio*, "at the conqueror's pleasure." Comp. *Vell.* ii. 109, Maroboduus finitimos omnes aut bello domuit aut condicionibus sui juris fecit. Liv. xxxv. 42, neque vi expugnare...neque condicionibus in amicitiam pellicere.

2. **Fidere**] Many MSS. read *confidere;* but the one is properly said of persons, the other of things. Kritz.

3. **Pacem conventam frustra fuisse**] Refer *conv.* to *pacem*, not to *frustra*, i. q. *pacem quae convenisset.* So *pax convenit*, above, c. 38. *Frustra*, adv. for partic. *frustratam*, or *irritam*, as frequently above.

4. **Ut una ab omnibus...veniretur**] "That they should all meet together," scil. Jugurtha, Bocchus, and Sulla.

5. **In potestatem habuisset**] The best MSS. read thus, not *potestate.* With *esse* and *habere* this construction is not uncommon. Comp. Cic. *pro leg. Man.* 12, quum vestros portus in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis. Liv. ii. 14, quae ne in potestatem quidem pop. Rom. esset. Caes. *B. C.* i. 25, quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare in potestatem haberet. The idiom is further illustrated by Kritz *in loc.*

6. **Neque hominem...relictum iri**] "And that a man of noble birth would not be left in the hands of the enemy, *who had fallen into them* through no ill-behaviour of his own, but in the service of the republic."

CHAPTER CXIII.

1. **Vultu corporis**] "In external appearance:" the addition of *corporis* makes the opposition to *animo* more precise.

2. **Quae scilicet**] "Which things of themselves," namely, the external signs of his irresolution, the calling and then dismissing of his people, and the changes of his countenance.

3. **Facillimum visu**] "Convenient for keeping a look-out."

CHAPTER CXIV.

1. **Per idem tempus**] The capture of Jugurtha took place A.U. 648, B.C. 106. Caepio and the consul Manlius were defeated in Gaul in the following year, by the Cimbri, who are here confounded with the Gauls, being properly Germans. So Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 13, C. Marius influentes in Italiam Gallorum maximas copias repressit. Flor. iii. 3; Diodor. v. 32; Appian, *Illyr.* 4. For the invasion of the Cimbri and Teutones,

see Florus, iii. 3, and particularly Plutarch, in his life of Marius, who defeated and destroyed them in the two great battles of Aquae Sextiae and Vercellae.

2. **Quo metu**] "In consternation at which defeat."

3. **Illique, et inde usque, etc.**] "Both the Romans of that day, and since, down to my own times." This harsh and ungrammatical sentence Kritz would amend conjecturally, by reading *illique* (i. q. et tum), for illique: "both then and since."

4. **Sic habuere**] "Have been convinced of this." Comp. Cic. *ad Div.* xvi. 4, sic habeto, mi Tiro, neminem esse qui me amet quin, etc.

5. **Prona**] "Easy to be subdued." i. q. *facilia*, with which it is joined, c. 80, ad facilius proniusque fuit.

6. **Pro salute, etc.**] Comp. Cic. *de Off.* i. 12, cum Cimbris bellum gerebatur, uter esset, non uter imperaret.

7. **Absens**] This was contrary to the law, which required that a candidate for the consulship should appear in the forum on three successive nundinae, and canvass the voters. A general who waited for a triumph might not enter the city, and accordingly was in strictness prevented from suing for the consulship. To be released from this law was considered a great honour and favour. Julius Caesar claimed a triumph for his victories in Spain as praetor, A.U. 694; but he was eager to obtain the consulship, and was compelled to forego the coveted honour in order to acquire the more valuable dignity.

8. **Triumphavit**] Marius triumphed over Jugurtha on the first of January, 650, the commencement of his second consulship. Jugurtha, with his two sons, was led before his car, and carried off to the Mamertine prison, under the Capitoline hill, where he was thrown into the lowest dungeon and left to starve. Plut. *Mar.* 12. Captive generals thus led in triumph were often put to death immediately afterwards, as Vercingetorix by Caesar, generally strangled. But in other cases they were allowed to live. Marius was considered vainglorious for entering the senate-house in his triumphal robe. Liv. *Epit.* lxvii.

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